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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ADDRESS TO THE READERS.

THIS day, the *Nonconformist* enters upon its fourth volume. A word or two, therefore, to its readers—a word of grateful acknowledgment.

Born under auspices which not the most sanguine could regard as encouraging—allied to no party, and indulgent to the inconsistencies of none—the humble votary of truth, for the truth's sake—pledged to wear her livery, though the whole world beside should agree to cast it off—opposed by powerful and compact influences—pertinacious in its advocacy of principles not yet popular—a foe to all exclusive interests—the *Nonconformist* has lived through its perilous term of infancy, and now appears before its friends a stalwart youth whose proportions give promise of a long career of usefulness.

Thanks to our readers, in the first place. We have often needed their forbearance, and it has uniformly been extended to us. We have done our best to please and to instruct them, and they have kindly appreciated the motive, whatever they may have thought of the deed. It has been our happy lot to attract towards ourselves something of that earnest attachment which our principles have awakened—and, by reflecting truth, to gain a portion of that confidence which truth alone can command. We follow in the train of a revered sovereign, and for the sake of her whom we serve we have found many and steadfast friends. They have stood by us in storm as well as in sunshine. They have often cheered us when under momentary depression. They have shared our joy. They have reciprocated our good wishes. They have laboured for our advancement. Thanks to you, gentle readers! Your kindness, confidence, and zeal have made us what we are.

To the liberal provincial press our warmest gratitude is due. Week by week we are laid under fresh obligations by journals whose ability needs no help from us, but whose generosity in quoting from our columns increases, to an incalculable extent, the circulation of our most matured opinions. The favour done to us, by this means, is fully appreciated, and it becomes us to present in return our fervent thanks.

On looking back upon our short career, whilst we cannot find aught to boast of, we discover much to gratify us. We have assisted at the birth of two movements, both of which, we fondly believe, will tell favourably upon our country's welfare—the one political, the other ecclesiastical—the first already struggling, the other having only just opened its young eyes to the light of day—complete suffrage, and the separation of church and state. Both are generic in character—primitive rocks upon which, as upon a solid and immovable basis, will hereafter rest the edifice of civil and religious liberty. In both cases, we count it matter of joy to have been permitted to take part. Our labour has been to us a sufficient reward.

Without neglecting subjects of incidental and minor importance, our main efforts will continue to be devoted to the furtherance of these movements. By the noble principles which they embody, we shall probably be found to test most of

the events which come before us for passing comment. Our readers, therefore, may safely predict our course. These two truths—the equal rights of man in political affairs, and the exclusive responsibility of man to God in spiritual affairs—will be the pole-stars by whose clear light we shall pursue our career.

Gentle readers! do you firmly believe in these fundamental doctrines? If you do, we shall not be asking too much if, for their sake, we ask your active aid in the circulation of the *Nonconformist*.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

"TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL!"

IN no unworthy spirit—aiming at no forbidden, no trivial object—desirous of resorting to the use of no means which Christianity would condemn—moved by no selfish or party feelings—not in malice, nor in hostility to men of any class, nor, if we know ourselves, in the blind excitement which pants for conflict, have we prefixed the above motto to the few remarks which follow. They serve, however, to indicate our present design. A conference having been determined upon, to diffuse correct views on the great question of the separation of church and state, and to devise systematic and energetic measures, we are anxious to enlist in its support whatever intelligence, seriousness, and zeal, the nonconforming world can supply. The standard of principle having been upreared, we take upon us to urge a general rally around it. Our address is directed to the friends of religious freedom, of every denomination. Suppliantly we implore their calm and unprejudiced attention. For a few passing moments, let them isolate themselves from all personal associations—resolutely thrust from the presence of their hearts the crowd of busy thoughts which passion employs to warp the judgment—and, consciously acting under the clear and penetrating eye of truth, let them listen, deliberate, and resolve.

No ordinary theme solicits their regard. They are not summoned now to bestow even a transient thought upon the civil liberties of dissenters—upon the degradation of this party, or upon the usurpation of supremacy by that. It is not our purpose to trouble them with indignant reference to the countless petty humiliations heaped by unjust power upon myriads of sincere and devoted nonconformists, to the heart-burnings which these occasions, to the numerous disadvantages which they inflict, nor to the festering sense of wrong which they excite and inflame. Not that we deem such topics beneath notice. But we have a larger and a nobler end in view—an end identified with, not the present comfort merely, but the future and eternal well-being, of men—affecting the highest interests, not of a sect, but of the church—not of a party, but of mankind. Our civil privileges may be lawfully contended for—but the rights and responsibilities which spiritual relationships devolve upon us none can blamelessly lay aside.

Taking our stand upon the resolutions passed at Leicester and in London, a record of which will be found in our last number, we point attention to the prominent evil of which these resolutions contemplate the ultimate removal. The religion of Christ secularised—the means of mercy to mankind systematically prostituted to subserve the interests of political party—impious pretensions, backed by law, to restrict within the bounds of monopoly the channel in which Heaven's grace may flow to man—God's revelation of himself and his designs converted into a stepping-stone for ambitious bigots—religion thrust aside to make room for puerile, burdensome, and senseless rites—spiritual ignorance claiming to have the lead of ignorance, and to hold in its exclusive possession the key of knowledge—the world lording it over the church, the sole Ruler of which it deposes, the original constitution of which it abrogates, the beneficent end of which it can neither appreciate nor understand—physical violence called in to enforce the law of love—the spirit of Mammon evoked to diffuse the blessings of charity and spiritual-mindedness—individual independence, and responsibility in regard to all supernal relationships, crushed by the pressure of self-constituted human authority—error vested with influence by "the powers that be"—nominalism stamped with the national seal

as authentic and trustworthy—superstition and delusion furnished with credentials from the British court and parliament to myriads unable to detect their worthlessness—Christian institutions, doctrine, discipline, and appliances, so intrinsically simple and efficacious, surrounded by an atmosphere of worldliness, vanity, fraud, rapacity, ambition, and force—in a word, the brightest emanation from the divine mind made, in its way to millions of souls, to pass through the discolouring and distorting medium of an essentially political system of the dirtiest character:—this is the master-evil of the age—the most subtle, the most ensnaring, the most pernicious, and, beyond all calculation, the most deadly. It is to the existence of this amongst us, to its growth and extension, to what it has done, to what it is engaged in doing, to what, unless abolished, it will assuredly go on to do, that we venture to awaken serious attention.

Can any enlightened and devout mind knowingly wink at this enormity and be guiltless? Can silence respecting it be maintained by such without rendering themselves in their measure chargeable with the awful consequences inflicted by it upon our country and our kind? Gaze, now, upon that picture, a very feeble but not incorrect representation of the reality! Look steadily upon it, till eye and heart be full of it. And now, what pretext, plausible as at other times it might appear, shall suffice to hinder you from recording your vow in heaven, that your earnest efforts shall not be wanting to banish the abomination from the face of the earth? Look once again, and as you look bear with us whilst we cry, "Up, men, and be doing! Be every prejudice banished, every whisper of personal jealousy hushed, every selfish consideration buried a hundred fathoms deep! Up, and away to your post! There is a movement in progress, bearing down upon this crying evil. Up, at once, and join it! Who originated it, how it has come about, whence it sprang, are matters of trivial import. Strengthen it with your strength—moderate it with your wisdom—cheer it forward with your presence—give to it your counsel, your energies, the influence of your example, the benefit of your exertions. If there be rashness, you may help to control it—if ignorance, you may do your best to enlighten it—if weakness, you may aid in making it powerful. But, stand not aloof! Come forward manfully and generously, and join the ranks of your brethren. United to them, you may hope to serve the cause—for, be it remembered, their failure will be your failure, and their success will be yours also!"

THE POSITION OF THE EVANGELICAL CLERGY.

A STATE of dependence, if we except the natural dependence of a child on his parents, and the spiritual reliance of a Christian on God, is of all others the most depressing to the energies of the mind—the most humiliating and degrading in its nature. As the slavery of the body begets a progressive and melancholy degeneracy of form and feature, till in the crouching, trembling victim of oppression, you can scarce detect any resemblance to the human form divine; so servitude of the mind cripples its power, degrades it from its natural right to free, unfettered action, and binds it over as a pander to some fellow mind, instead of exalting it to the service of truth.

We were led to these reflections by observing in a morning paper an account of "A Lay Address to His Grace the Chancellor and the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford"—an address put forth by the evangelical church party, complaining of the errors of Puseyism, and signed by a number of individuals, headed by the Duke of Marlborough, and containing the names of various noble lords, knights, gentlemen, mayors, aldermen, and others.

We were much struck with this production, as a specimen of the anomalous position of the evangelical church party at the present time. Who are the men who thus protest against the rampant errors of Puseyism? Pious clergymen of the church of England, and zealous lay members of the same body. Who are they whose names ornament the subscription, and lend weight to the address? Noble horse-racers, high bred gamblers, emphatically men of the world. Now what can be said to this? Here are those men who stand up every week in the pulpit to denounce all worldly pleasure, all carnal enjoyments, coalescing with those who do

nothing but revel in those pleasures and enjoyments, and that too for the purpose of supporting religious orthodoxy.

What cares His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, or what care the long list of noble and wealthy persons attached to the address, about orthodoxy? It is, doubtless, a very good word to crack a joke over; but is this a likely way to advance the spirituality of the church of Christ, thus to drag into its service the votaries of fashion and pleasure? We trow not.

Not only, however, are the evangelical members of the established church contradictory in their position of dependence on worldly influence, but they are so with respect to the errors of which they complain, which are fostered by the establishment to which they belong. How can they denounce the promulgation of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, who thank God over every unconscious infant brought to them for baptism "that this child is regenerate," and who teach every Sunday scholar and young person in their congregations to say that by baptism they were made "children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven?" The evasions, subterfuges, shuffles, contradiction, and nonsense, which have been made use of in answer to this question, and to get rid of the stern lie of the baptismal service and the catechism, would rival the pages of Joe Miller for absurdity. One man says that it is all allegorical; another, that it is only intended to signify the admission of the child into the visible church. But let us ask those who satisfy themselves with these explanations, how it is that the unbaptised person is condemned to die like a dog—to be put out of sight without Christian burial, in common with the suicide and the excommunicate? Is this allegorical? To our humble conception the words are sufficiently clear and intelligible, admitting only of one interpretation, and that the literal signification of the language.

There are, however, a small portion of the evangelical clergy who are loud in their complaints of these abuses, and violent in their repudiation of them. These are, for the most part, perpetual curates, and others who possess livings in their own right, without being amenable to the bishop of the diocese. These persons do not hesitate to declare their abhorrence of these errors, and their fervent desire to see them expunged from the prayer-book, while, at the same time, they excuse themselves for continuing in the establishment, and in possession of their livings, by asserting that, as there are no human institutions without faults, they will not leave the church of England because of the evils which belong to her.

How can these men, with any degree of truth or consistency, stand up with the scriptures in their hands, and proclaim "the Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the religion of protestants," while, with the other hand, they hold the book containing doctrines which they themselves assert to be contrary to the Bible? They may be able to reconcile their conscience to such a course of proceeding—we hope, for their own sake, that they can; but to us it seems a most unaccountable anomaly.

But to return to the dependent position of the evangelical clergy, with respect to worldly patronage and support—it is indeed a melancholy and distressing picture. Holy men of God—their interests are yet so bound up with worldly enactments, that they are as much the members and instruments of a political confederation as of a Christian priesthood, and cannot even pray but by act of parliament. Denouncers of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, they are yet so dependent on the patronage of the great, that (as in the "lay address" of which we have been speaking) they cannot even move without their sanction and support; and while they proclaim against the world, they yet belong to an institution framed in the spirit of the world, maintained by the world, and which is, in its government, its observances, and its very nature, essentially a worldly establishment. Aware of the unsoundness of the edifice, they yet endeavour, with amazing obstinacy, either to support each tottering pillar of the ruinous fabric, or to garnish over its natural unsightliness. Feeling the peril of their position, they yet continue in it with a strange infatuation, looking to the right and to the left, at dissenters on the one hand, and Puseyites on the other, and with equal suspicion at both—they remain, trembling at the uncertainty of their indefinite position, but without moral courage to change it for one more worthy of their principles.

We would warn them—as men whom we honour for their works' sake, we earnestly warn them, to look well to their present condition, and to take some decisive and manly course. They themselves, by becoming spiritual men, have rendered themselves unfit to be any longer members of a worldly establishment. Let them, therefore, come out from among them, and let them no longer expose the fair name of Christianity to reproach, by pandering to the world, and yielding to merely legal requirements and observances.

THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE AND THE PRESS.

(From the Patriot.)

From the account inserted in our last number, of the steps which have been taken to convene a conference representing religious men of all denominations who repudiate the principle of a state establishment, our readers will have inferred that our opinion is in favour of such a movement. And they will be perfectly right in that supposition. Nor is it without due consideration that we have come to this conclusion.

Ever since the defeat of Sir James Graham's bill, an anxious desire has been very generally felt and expressed, that advantage should be taken of the energy and spirit of union which that threatened attack upon our religious liberties called forth, for the purpose of making permanent and effectual provision against future danger. But no definite plans have been suggested, that appeared likely to accomplish this end. Moreover, it appeared to be the first and most pressing duty of dissenters to show themselves in earnest in the great work of popular education; and therefore, when, in last October, the Congregational Union announced its intention to take the subject into special consideration at the Leeds meeting, we hailed that determination, and felt called upon to do all in our power to promote that most important movement, which has issued in so auspicious a result.

A conference of the friends of religious freedom had been pressed upon us, however, long before the close of last session; nor were we insensible to the urgent occasion for such a step, though we shrank, at that time, from the responsibility of recommending it. And we will frankly state our reasons.

But now, as to the intended conference, we find it distinctly explained, that the object contemplated is not a mere temporary demonstration, a hostile menace, a polemical manifesto; it is, as we understand it, to be strictly "a conference of the friends of religious freedom," with a view, in the first instance, to ascertain the state of opinion and feeling among those who compose our congregations; and to determine what are the best means of diffusing, primarily among dissenters themselves, correct notions on the great question of the separation of church and state; with a view, ultimately, to more energetic efforts to promote the triumph of these principles in legislation and government. Then, secondly, it did not originate with the metropolis; it has been proposed and strongly urged by a large meeting of gentlemen, ministers, and others, resident in the midland counties, who have invited the counsel and co-operation of their brethren in town and country, and to whom, even in point of courtesy, a cordial response was due. And then, thirdly, the provisional arrangements appear wisely adapted to give to the conference a useful direction, and to secure a practical result. From what we have learned as to the individuals who have been invited to act upon the general provisional committee, we are bound to say, that it will be the fault of dissenters themselves, if the labours of that committee should not issue in the convening of a perfectly fair and full representation of the great body of dissenters.

So much in explanation of our deliberate opinion in favour of the present plan. We shall take a future opportunity of stating more fully our views of what, at the present crisis, duty and policy concur to recommend in the great struggle upon which we have entered.

(Wesleyan Chronicle.)

It will be seen from certain resolutions in our advertising columns, and from other statements extracted from the Patriot and Nonconformist, that a general conference of those who are decidedly opposed to the union of church and state, has been determined on. The proposal originated in the midland counties, and has been acceded to at a meeting of leading dissenters in the metropolis. We augur well from this combination of purpose, and also from the apparent diminution of that estrangement which has been too evident between the Patriot and the Nonconformist, and between those sections of the dissenting body which they respectively represent. Let all nonconformists unite, and they will ultimately triumph. We dare not promise the provisional committee the active and open co-operation of the Wesleyan ministers; but we can confidently assure them that they will have the best wishes and the ardent prayers of many of those gentlemen for the success of their labours. The lay members of the Wesleyan church, however, are under no restraint which needs preclude them from acting out their convictions in any way that may promote the cause of religious freedom. We trust, therefore, that, when the list of the provisional committee appears, we shall have the pleasure of seeing several Wesleyan names upon it.

(Inquirer.)

At last, it is determined that an Anti-state-church Convention shall take place. Arrangements for calling it together are in progress. A meeting at Leicester, whose proceedings are reported elsewhere, has adopted preliminary measures, and set the necessary machinery at work. We shall watch the proceedings of the Convention with no common interest. If conducted in a right spirit—if the great principles of religious liberty be preserved inviolate—it may lead to the most important results. If so, we trust that the ministers of the Unitarian body will not withhold from it their countenance and active co-operation.

Should nothing more result from it at present, it will at least keep the question of voluntarism prominently before the public—promote discussion—

and unite the energies of those who are opposed to a state religion.

(Baptist Herald, Jamaica.)

We are glad to learn from the pages of the Nonconformist, that the dissenters of Great Britain are beginning to awake from their guilty slumber.

It is probable that at no very distant period a convention of voluntaries will be held, to devise the best means of dissolving the sinful connexion between church and state. With that object we have the deepest sympathy, and return the talented editor of the "Noncon." our warmest thanks, for bringing it before the public.

The bad influence exerted by the establishment is felt as severely in the colonies as in the mother country. It insults our ministers, robs our churches, and dishonours true religion as much here as at home; so that we feel equally interested in the question of separation.

We trust that the members of the Western Union—who, we perceive, are to meet at Falmouth this week—will feel it to be a solemn duty they owe to God, to religion, and their people, to elect a delegate to represent them and their churches, whenever, and wherever, the Convention shall be held.

(Philanthropist.)

At the eleventh hour, the result of the meetings of laymen and ministers, held at Leicester and London, has reached us, and we should feel ourselves to be culpable indeed, if we did not congratulate the friends of voluntarism on the manly step they have taken—a step that bids fair to realise all that for which we have hoped and striven.

It is with joy that we publish this account. We forbear our own comments: they will come at their proper time. We invite the earnest co-operation of dissenters. Such a co-operation cannot but obtain complete success. By next month we may be able to give a more detailed account of what is to be done. We leave the matter now to our readers, trusting that when they are appealed to, they will not be backward, but will hasten to join in that one effort, which is now about to be made—and not in vain—to emancipate religion from the trammels of the state.

(Cheltenham Free Press.)

We must address a few words to those honest-minded nonconformists who have felt the evils to Christianity caused by a state establishment, and have been anxious to do all in their power to separate the "unholy alliance." These need no exhortation, for we can say to them with pleasure—

Ye yourselves
Move others and no lessons need from us.
Were but all
Courageous as yourselves, soon (Moloch's) walls
Should totter.

It will be to them a source of pleasure to learn that some noble-spirited individuals in London and the midland counties have resolved to call, as early as possible, "a conference of the friends of religious freedom, for the purpose of diffusing correct views on the great question of the separation of church and state, and of devising systematic and energetic measures." A provisional committee is to be appointed from all parts of the kingdom, and Dr Cox, of Hackney, has already accepted the office of provisional secretary. The provisional committee will appoint a central executive committee, to whom will be entrusted the duty of arranging the details.

It remains for the honest nonconformists of all denominations to say whether such a goodly babe shall be stifled, poisoned, or put to death—or whether they will prevent such a misfortune by rallying round it in this its hour of need, and fostering it at the time when it most requires their fostering care. It will repay this care, for although an infant now, it is an infant Hercules, which will destroy a hydra-headed monster more powerful than that of which we read in heathen mythology—and cleanse a stable which has been too long polluted by fat and lazy oxen.

(Leicester Mercury.)

We are happy to learn, from the Nonconformist, that the calling of an Anti-state-church Convention is likely to be realised. A meeting recently held in this town has enlisted the co-operation of gentlemen resident in London and its vicinity, and earnest dissenters of every name will soon have an opportunity of uniting in one enlightened, peaceful, and persevering effort to emancipate the cause of true religion from the shackles by which it has so long been bound. The summoning of a Convention is at once the most rational and effective mode of entering on those persevering exertions which the nature of the difficulties involved in this great question require. We shall watch the advancement of this movement with intense interest, and carefully report its progress. Thanks to Sir James Graham, who has called such vast designs into being!

THE PROPOSED CONVENTION AND THE STUDENTS OF GLASGOW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE.—We have received the following gratifying communication on the duty of dissenters in relation to the establishment:—

Glasgow, Dec. 26th, 1843.

"SIR—I have been requested by the students of the Glasgow Theological Academy, to transmit to you the following, for insertion, if you think proper, in the columns of the Nonconformist. The class consists of twenty-nine students.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

"SIR—Being congregationalists, we would con-

sider our remarks inexcusably impertinent, did we trespass on your patience merely to tell you that we repudiate the principle upon which the connexion between church and state is founded. We think, however, that mere nonconformity, how modest soever it may appear, does not fill up the measure of dissenters' duty, but that they are called upon actively to resist the unwarrantable encroachments of a state-endowed clergy; and that one great duty which they owe to the Head of the church, is the active employment of all the means which he has placed within their reach, to destroy that incongruous relation of church and state, by which the divine beauty of the former has been to such an extent obscured. This we consider the duty of dissenters, without any further provocation than the mere existence of the alliance. But the experiment of Sir James Graham, upon the endurance of dissenters, in the Factories bill of last session; and Lord John Russell's proposed renewal of the experiment by the administration of a *quietus* to Ireland, in the shape of an endowment to the Roman Catholic church there—these freaks of grasping faction, while they have not created the obligation to activity on the part of dissenters, have, by awaking the dissenting community from the sleep of security into which toleration had lulled it, and by directing the attention of the nation in general to the subject, afforded an opportunity of useful activity, which cannot, we think, without sin, be neglected. Permit us, therefore, to say, sir, that we regard with satisfaction your proposal of an anti-state-church convention, and earnestly desire that your efforts in this matter may be successful—that the convention may not only be held, but that it may be such an one as shall both show the country that dissenters are in earnest, and shall originate among dissenters themselves a course of action fitted to effect a dissolution, at no distant day, of that union between the church and the state, which we cannot avoid considering a master manoeuvre of Satan to hinder the progress of that kingdom which is not of this world.

"In name of the students of the Glasgow Theological Academy, I remain,

"Yours respectfully,

"ALEXANDER HANNAY."

NONCONFORMIST ASSOCIATION, SOUTHAMPTON.—The first anniversary of this society was held at the Long rooms, on the 19th of December. The Chairman, after stating the object and principles of the association, gave a short sketch of its rise and progress to the present period. He regretted the apathy and lukewarmness of the majority of dissenters on the subject to which they were pledged, and the interests of which they were combined to promote; he congratulated the members on closing the year's labour in a manner so encouraging and satisfactory, and he called upon all to renew their efforts in seeking to extend the benefits of so useful an institution. The Secretary read the report of the committee, of which the following is an abstract:—

"Your committee, in resigning into your hands the trust you have been pleased to repose in them, beg to observe, that they have done their utmost to advance the principles and promote the interests of the association. Your committee feel deeply the importance of subjects which they have been intrusted to direct, and whilst they cannot but regret the indifference displayed by the dissenting bodies in Southampton, with respect to the great question of religious liberty, yet they are assured that so soon as the principles and objects of this association are generally known and understood, that a great accession to their numbers, and consequently a considerable increase in the means for the extension of their principles, will be the result. Your committee beg to lay before you a statement of the measures they have adopted. The association has held ten monthly meetings, during which six lectures have been delivered, and four discussions held; 456 *Nonconformist* newspapers have been circulated among the members, also several monthly periodicals, Mr Thorn's tracts, "The Nonconformist's Sketch Book," and other publications. Your committee are of opinion that the public lectures delivered by Mr Miall, editor of the *Nonconformist*, and Mr Thorn, of Winchester, were productive of very much good, from the intense interest excited, and the sentiments of approval expressed by large and respectable audiences. Your committee cannot separate without expressing their deep anxiety for the welfare and prosperity of the association; they have watched its progress from infancy to its present flourishing condition; they trust that much care will be taken to augment its efficiency, and they believe that, with the blessing of God, it is calculated to be an humble instrument in effecting the separation of church and state, in releasing religion from the thralldom in which the state has held her, in breaking off the shackles with which the governments of the earth have fettered the opinions of mankind, so that every man may be enabled to worship God in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience."

Measures were then proposed for increasing the usefulness of the association, which now commences its second year under very auspicious circumstances. Mr Burnet, of Camberwell, is expected to deliver a lecture at the next monthly meeting.

ECCLIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS.—The sixth lecture of the course was delivered on Tuesday evening last, at the Borough-road chapel, Southwark, by Mr Henry Richard, independent minister. The subject announced for discussion was "Establishments De-

trimental to the Spirituality and the Purity of the Christian Church." A large and attentive audience manifested the continuance of the same interest as on the former occasions.

EAST LONDON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY SOCIETY.—The fourth district meeting of this newly-formed society was held on Friday evening, the 22nd inst., at Coverdale chapel, Limehouse. George Offer, Esq., in the chair. Mr J. C. Williams, one of the secretaries, after stating that letters had been received from Messrs J. H. Hinton and Charles Hyatt, and other gentlemen, apologising for their absence, and expressing their cordial approval of the society, presented a statement of the objects for which the society had been established, and the measures it proposed to adopt. It was stated that the registration of members was satisfactorily progressing; that a course of lectures on the subject of church establishments would be delivered in the Stepney meeting school-rooms on the three last Fridays in January, and that monthly meetings of members of the society were contemplated for the purpose of discussing such passing events as might have a bearing on the object of the society. The meeting was addressed by the following ministers:—Messrs Seaborn, Carlile, Stovel, and Halliday.

SEIZURES FOR CHURCH RATES.—We stated two or three weeks ago (says the *Worcester Chronicle*) that several parties had been summoned before the city magistrates, by the churchwardens of St Peter's (Messrs Hill and Otley), for the non-payment of church rates. They did not appear to those summonses, and last Wednesday they were distrained upon. We subjoin the amount of the rates, and the value of the property seized. The disproportion in some instances is tremendous, and though we shall be told that the legal expenses attendant upon a distraint are very heavy, yet even that fact can scarcely account for the great difference. At any rate it only affords an additional reason why this unjust and obnoxious impost should be altogether abolished. Surely proceedings such as these are not calculated to strengthen the claim of the establishment to the title of the "poor man's church."

Messrs Hardy and Padmore.
Amount of Rate £1 1 3
Two oven grates, value £3 0 0
B. Hardy, Esq.
Amount of Rate £0 4 3
Two sets of fire irons, value £0 17 0
Coffee mill 0 4 0
Coffee pot 0 12 0
£1 13 0

Mr T. Hardy.
Amount of Rate £0 2 14
Brass bottle jack, value £0 10 6
Tin meat fastener 1 8 0
Swing looking glass 0 15 0
£2 13 6

Mr B. Bulford.
Amount of Rate £0 3 1
Silver watch and mahogany stand, value £1 12 0

CHURCH RATES, CLAINES.—At a vestry meeting of the parishioners of Claines, Worcestershire, held on Tuesday last, a twopenny rate was proposed. An amendment for twelve months' adjournment was moved, but the chairman refused to put it to the meeting. He then, under the advice of his friends, dissolved the meeting, the church-rate party having previously declared their intention of calling another meeting immediately, when they should come better prepared to meet their opponents, whom we should have no doubt will hold themselves in corresponding readiness. Nearly the whole of the persons assembled showed that they were decidedly hostile to the rate.

CHURCH RATES, WILLENHALL.—At a vestry meeting of this parish on the 21st ult., a church-rate of twopence in the pound was refused almost unanimously—eight persons only, out of a full attendance, in the church voting in its favour.

STRANGE DOINGS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—A correspondent, who lives "not 100 miles from Wootton-under-edge," sends the following account:—"I feel almost ashamed of my native town; and you will allow with some reason, when I inform you and your readers that it has just submitted to one of the most extraordinary infringements of its liberties I almost ever heard of. With a population of near 5,000, and a great majority of the town liberals and dissenters, they last week suffered a tory county magistrate, residing in the vicinity, to prevent a public meeting being held at their Town hall, for a lecture against Puseyism, even after the bills had been some days published! It appears the said burly J. P. went round to some other of the neighbouring magistrates, the day the meeting was to take place, and persuading them they had the power (as trustees of the building, I believe) got their consent, which surprises me, most or all of them being liberals; and procuring the keys, went into town and locked up the Tolsey, so that the lecturer (Mr Poulter) was obliged to get the use of a dissenting chapel (the baptists'), and that at a short notice, where the meeting was of course nothing like what it would have been at the Town hall, to the great satisfaction, no doubt, of the half-puseyite vicar and his friends. Strange to say, the new mayor for this year (a dissenter), on being asked how such a thing could have occurred, replied (I understand), that he 'had nothing to do with it.' A pretty sort of mayor, truly!"

THE VICAR OF ILFORD AND HIS PARISHIONERS.—Considerable interest has been excited during the last day or two amongst the parishioners of Ilford, on account of a decision recently come to by the vestry to refuse payment to the beadle, pew-openers, and other subordinate officers of the church, by reason of the vicar's determination not to abandon the weekly offertory, preaching in his surplice, &c.,

contrary to the expressed wishes of the parishioners. On Sunday morning it was expected that these functionaries would have been absent, but the church service was performed without alteration. The Rev. Mr Bedford read prayers, and indulged in the bowings and turnings which have given so much offence. The Rev. Mr Baugh (the vicar) preached. He abstained from allusion to the differences which have sprung up in the parish. The only point to which he made reference was the performance of daily service, attendance at which he strongly urged. The church on Sunday was almost deserted. It is said that most of the parishioners intend henceforth to worship at an adjacent church, of which the Rev. Mr Reynolds is the minister.—*Standard*.

THE HIERARCHY.—The bishoprics of England and Wales were instituted according to the following order of time, viz.:—London, an archbishopric and metropolitan of England, founded by Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain, A.D. 185; Llandaff, 186; Bangor, 516; St David's, 519. The archbishopric of Wales from 560 to 1100, when the bishop submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury as his metropolitan; St Asaph, 547; St Augustine (or St Austin) made Canterbury the metropolitan archbishop, by order of Pope Gregory, A.D. 596; Wells, 604; Rochester, 634; Winchester, 650; Lichfield and Coventry, 656; Worcester, 679; Hereford, 680; Durham, 691; Sodor and Man, 898; Exeter, 1050; Sherborne (changed to Salisbury), 1056; York (archbishopric), 1067; Dorchester (changed to Lincoln), 1070; Chichester, 1071; Thetford (changed to Norwich), 1088; Bath and Wells, 1088; Ely, 1109; Carlisle, 1123. The following six were founded upon the suppression of monasteries by Henry the Eighth:—Chester, Peterborough, Gloucester, Oxford, Bristol, and Westminster, 1538. Westminster was united to London in 1550. Ripon, 1836.

SALE OF PRESENTATIONS.—We have cut the two following announcements from one number of the *Times*. The first, it will be noticed, is in every way an advantageous investment, and will afford an exceedingly desirable living to some successor of the apostles:—"Church Preferment.—To be sold, by private contract, the next presentation and perpetual advowson of a living, in the county of Devon, the tithes of which are commuted at 725*l.* per annum, with a considerable portion of glebe, valued at 200*l.* per annum, together with a parsonage house, good garden, and offices. The present incumbent is now about the age of seventy-five years, and a lease of the tithes for his life will be assigned over to the purchaser." The incumbent has reached that age when "early possession" may be anticipated. The advertiser does not venture on any reference to the number of the population; but Devonshire is a thinly-peopled county, and we are bound to say that a person with 925*l.* of yearly income, a house, good garden, and offices, free, could not desire a more pleasant district wherein to pass his days than Devonshire. The next is a doubtful kind of affair, but we copy it; for, to a rich man with a very young son, it has inducements:—"Advowson.—To be sold by auction, early in the spring, if not sooner disposed of by private contract, the advowson and next presentation of a most desirable benefice, close to Barnstaple, North Devon, of the annual value of about 500*l.*, with a new and excellent house, and glebe of 100 acres, beautifully situated. The present incumbent is nearly in the fifty-fifth year of his age. A considerable part of the purchase money may remain on mortgage." We take the value of this benefice to be 700*l.* yearly; but there is evidence in the first advertisement that twenty years—perhaps a greater number—may elapse before possession be attained. The leading prize at present in the market is advertised in the last number of the *Record*. Its value is, yearly, two thousand pounds; and the incumbent is not at that time of life which would naturally lead him to expect the enjoyment of its advantages for many years. But when will this abominable class of advertisements, and the practices denoted by them, cease to disgrace the established churches of England and Ireland? Never, we fear, during their existence.—*Banner of Ulster*.

STATE PROVISION FOR THE IRISH CLERGY.—The near advent of parliament has, as usual, given rise to various rumours as to the intentions of political parties. One of those put forward by the *Record* is, that the odium of bringing forward a proposition for endowing the Irish Catholic clergy "is to be left with some of the Puseyite members. A series of resolutions, very probably, will be moved by Lord John Manners or Mr Smythe, and, if they meet a favourable reception from the House, and with little opposition from the country, then the Secretary of State for the Home Department, or the Premier, will advise his honourable friend to withdraw these resolutions, and accompany the request with a promise that the subject will receive a serious consideration from the Cabinet." The *Church and State Gazette*, in its number of Saturday last, announces its opinion, that after all the Government are about to propose a state provision for the Irish Roman Catholic clergy. The *Banner of Ulster* also confirms the current rumour.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION AND THE CHURCH CATECHISM.—We are importuned from so many influential quarters to give an opinion on this much-agitated question, that we cannot consistently, as public journalists, shrink from the responsibility of stating to the Union our conviction of its present position. In doing so, we beg to express our deep sense of the importance and value of its past labours, and our lively hope that it may continue to enjoy public confidence for many years of growing usefulness. We cannot speak of the Union in terms of censure and disrespect for continuing to vend at its depository the "Church Catechism." The practice

had long obtained, as a matter of supposed equity to churchmen, and without animadversion on the part of nonconformists; and, now that the usage is looked upon in a different light, the committee may have great struggles of mind as to what may be the wisest and best course for them to pursue. If they cease to vend the "Church Catechism," they will offend some episcopalians; if they continue to expose it for sale, they will alienate a large body of nonconformists. What, then, should they do? In our humble opinion, they should act fearlessly upon the ascertained views of their constituents; the few must yield to the many; and the sale of a work must be relinquished, which, however prized by certain churchmen, becomes every day more obnoxious to evangelical dissenters. In the opinion of many judicious persons, the sale of the Church Catechism by the Sunday-school Union, gives a sanction to it, to which its internal merits do not entitle it; we greatly lean to this opinion ourselves; and would therefore very respectfully and affectionately entreat the committee of the Union to sacrifice their own feelings to the public good, and at once cut short those strifes and heart-burnings, for which the slender countenance afforded to the Union by episcopalians can be no sufficient compensation. Our view of the present controversy is now before the Union, and we are not without hope that it will be regarded with favour by those who have the power of bringing it to a speedy determination.—*Evangelical Magazine.*

LATEST MANIFESTO OF THE FREE CHURCH.—The following document (says the *Bradford Observer*), which may be regarded as the deliberate confession of faith of the Free church upon the establishment and voluntary questions, has just been received in this town:—

"Committee Rooms, 7, North street, St Andrew's street, Edinburgh, December 16th, 1843.

"DEAR SIRS—The committee appointed by the late general assembly to answer the addresses and congratulations from other churches, in acknowledging the resolution passed by the West Riding of Yorkshire association, at Shipley, on the 8th of June last, and transmitted by you to Dr Chalmers, very naturally wish that the said resolution had been less in the style of censure and reproof. But believing that your remarks were well intended, and knowing that you and we are agreed on the great question of the sinfulness of the civil magistrate's interference in *sacris*, we take your observations in good part, and shall endeavour to profit by them.

"In return we beg leave to assure you that our conviction, that it is the duty of the civil magistrate to countenance, encourage, and support the true religion, is as clear and decided as that he is usurping the office of the Lord Jesus Christ, when he intermeddles with the administration of spiritual affairs. We regard the nation which is without a religious establishment as virtually disowning the authority of Christ, and repudiating the name of Christian. We have not changed our principles—we have no reason for changing them; our ministers have renounced the emoluments of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment, and our people have deserted it along with us, because the grand bulwark of an establishment was thrown down, and we would not be partakers of other men's sins. But we love our Jerusalem, we cannot forget her, least of all when she is in ruins. Our fervent prayer is, that her walls may be rebuilt, her temple restored, the throne of Christ again erected in the midst of her, and the "Man of Sin" withstood by the combined efforts of pure protestant establishments, and of Christians of all denominations recognising the supreme authority of Christ speaking in his word, and by the ministry of the gospel.

"With regard to the voluntary principle, properly so called, we never were opposed to it. We controverted, and ever will controvert, the non-establishment principle; but the voluntary contributions of our people we have never been ashamed to ask, and have at all times thankfully received. The efficiency of the non-establishment principle has not been proved as yet by the Free church of Scotland. At the present time our funds come so woefully short of the demands upon them, that we are glad to receive the aid of our Christian friends in England, and Ireland, aye, and in America, to enable us to prosecute the glorious end of making the Free church commensurate with the boundaries of our beloved country.

"That the spirit of truth may guard you and us from error, and guide us into the knowledge of all truth, and that he may enable us in all our contentings to keep the glory of God and the promotion of spiritual religion steady in view, is the earnest prayer of, dear sirs, in the name of the committee, yours sincerely,

"PATRICK M'FARLANE, Convener.
"Rev. Henry Dowson."

ANOTHER INTERDICTION.—We understand that an interdict has been served on the Rev. J. Mactavish, of Ballachulish, near Fort William, prohibiting the use of a tent, and the assembling of people to hear the gospel, on a piece of land belonging to Maclean, of Ardgour.—*Witness.*

THE RED GOWN QUESTION.—At a meeting of the Edinburgh town council, on Tuesday last, Mr J. Wright gave notice of the following resolution for the next meeting:—"That with the view to greater economy in the use of the insignia of office for councillors, the red gown be laid aside upon Sundays, and each member be supplied with a white cotton one for the purpose of going to church." The reading of this motion was received with shouts of laughter. The church party were exceeding wroth on the subject, and appealed to the provost whether such a motion should be allowed "to stain the records." It finally fell to the ground for want of a seconder.

Correspondence.

DISMISSAL OF DR WELCH.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR—I thank you for inserting my letter from the *Leeds Mercury*, respecting Dr Welch and the Scottish Bible Board, and for your comments upon it.

The points of the case are these. When the Scottish Bible monopoly was about to expire, the church, through several of its clergy, who have now seceded, attempted to obtain the privilege, in order to bestow the profits on church extension; and as the whigs were in office, certain of their supporters attempted to obtain its renewal on their own behalf, using, as their plea, the fallacy a thousand times refuted, that a patent ensured correctness of the text.

The parties who were urging the entire abolition of the monopoly counterworked this move, by proposing that the printing should be thrown entirely open; real security for correctness being taken from the printers.

Hereupon the whig government constituted a board for that purpose, to consist exclusively of members of church and state, the only paid office being that of secretary to the board; and this appointment, of course, the government reserved to the treasury.

Dr Welch, late moderator of the General Assembly—that is, of the established church court—was, by Lord John Russell, appointed secretary of the Board.

Recently, Dr Welch has seceded from the established church; he is consequently dismissed by the present Secretary of State from his office at the Scottish Board, and complaints are thereupon made of tory bigotry and oppression.

I do not deny the bigotry, but I deny the right of whigs, or dissenters, to complain of it in this case. When the whigs converted the proposal to erect a board of supervision, into a means of giving the church new dignity and authority; and excluding from its constitution any dissenter, however zealous, and learned, or pious, a few honest men in Scotland were so disgusted, that they withdrew from all further participation in the movement; but excepting these, the main body of dissenters, both north and south, acquiesced in the injustice, notwithstanding numerous appeals to them.

The Board was, therefore, constituted as the government proposed—of church and state; but now the whigs allege, that the secretary's office was left open "in order to admit a dissenter."

Lord John Russell, whose signature is attached to the warrant—who was the main party in the arrangement, and appointed the secretary—doubtless, knew his own intention, and he appointed Dr Welch, not a dissenter.

How was it imagined a dissenter should obtain the office? It is seen the whigs would not appoint one, and it was surely not to be expected the tories would.

The truth is, a consistent dissenter could not hold the office: he must be the mouth-piece, the executive, of a body of men, *ex officio*, churchmen and state-lawyers; and I contend that Sir James Graham has rightly understood the meaning of his predecessor's act, that they kept within their own patronage, and untrammelled by conditions, the only paid office; and that their intention, as to the appointment, was manifested by their exclusive constitution of the board, and specially illustrated by their appointment of a churchman in the first instance.

I am, sir, &c.,

Bungay, Dec. 29th, 1843.

JOHN CHILDS.

PROPOSED ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONVENTION.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

DEAR SIR—It gives me sincere gratification to find that it is decided to hold an anti-state-church convention; and as you have invited the opinions of such as are favourable to it, with a view to "construct a platform for future operations," allow me to trouble you with one or two remarks on the subject.

Distrusting my own competency to give advice as to the plan of so important a movement, and hoping that wiser heads than my own would have discussed that point, I have hitherto expressed no objection to the proposal that the delegates should be sent from a constituency of five hundred in each district; but from the first I have had my fears lest, should that be finally adopted, it will have the effect of reducing the delegates to a small numerical amount, and of greatly weakening the impression which might otherwise be made by the convention upon the religious public. There are, I fear, but comparatively few districts where five hundred staunch dissenters, prepared to do battle, could be collected together. I much question whether, through the whole large county in which I live, so many could be mustered by the utmost effort. Multitudes of dissenters have yet to be convinced of the importance and propriety of the movement, and this will require time and effort. Congregational representation is what we have been most accustomed to, and this would leave every congregation the power of acting at once, and without any great difficulty, while it would offer no obstruction to the subsequent formation of district associations for ulterior objects; but should this, on account of the great number of delegates which might be sent, appear impracticable, perhaps the better plan might be to have delegates sent by the dissenters of separate cities and towns, uniting with them any adjacent villages. This would be a district upon a smaller scale, likely to become far more efficient, because more manageable than a constituency of five hundred; the getting together of which, where practicable, or even obtaining their signatures for sending delegates would, in most cases, be attended with great trouble, if not expense. I do not feel at all certain as to what plan is the best, but decidedly think that the original proposal requires to be greatly modified.

London, probably, would be the best place, on many accounts, for holding the convention, were the dissenters there likely to throw their strength generally into the movement; but as present appearances indicate that the strength of the convention will be principally from the midland and northern counties, it might be well to spare the expense of traveling to London by fixing upon a more central spot, and perhaps none could be named more suitable than Leicester or Birmingham.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,
GULIELMUS.

DISSENTING MAGISTRATES.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR—I do not agree with the opinions of your correspondent "M," in a letter in your excellent paper of the 27th instant, on dissenters qualifying as magistrates.

I will, therefore, state my own case. I am a decided nonecon. from principle; when the whigs came into power, my name, amongst others (unknown to me), was given for a county magistrate; when the appointment came, I had to learn the oaths I must take; finding I could do so with a clear conscience, I qualified at the quarter sessions. My engagement was, not to injure the

church as by law established—no, not a brick or stone will I destroy—my desire is, to do as our blessed Saviour did when he went into the temple—drive out all the buyers and sellers. I have attended to my magisterial duties. In the beginning, there were laid before me to sign, summonses to call upon dissenters to pay church rates; at once I objected, and was told I must—it was the law, and must be done. Without going into any long particulars, I told my colleagues I never would sign any books or papers to take the money from dissenters to give to the church—since then I am left to do as I please. If dissenters would be firm, we should soon see a more cheering prospect from tory and high churchism—yes, in this priestridden country of ours.

A COUNTY MAGISTRATE.

December 30th, 1843.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTRATION.

49, Essex street, Strand, Dec. 30, 1843.

SIR—In submitting the enclosed memoranda for borough electors for insertion in your excellent paper, I take the opportunity of begging your permission to correct an important mistake which has occurred in the "Complete Suffrage Almanack."

The editor, in addition to a great amount of general and useful information, has devoted some four or five pages to the subject of the registration of voters, in which he has done me the honour of extracting a portion of a pamphlet on that subject, written by me previously to the passing of the Registration of Voters act. Some alterations have been effected by the passing of that act which the editor has overlooked, some of which are not of material consequence, such as the time at which the lists are to be fixed on the church and chapel doors—the price at which they are to be sold—the time for the revising barristers holding their court—also when the register comes in force, which is now on the 1st of December; but to use the form of claim to be registered prescribed by the Reform act (the one given in the Almanack) would by some revising barristers be deemed insufficient to satisfy the Registration of Voters act, and would be considered by such barristers sufficient ground for disallowing the claim.

The following is the form of claim that should be used:—

"NOTICE OF CLAIM."

"To the Overseers of the Parish of
"I hereby give you notice that I claim to have my name inserted in the list made by you, of persons entitled under the Reform act to vote in the election of a member or members for the city or borough of _____, and that the particulars of my qualification and place of abode are stated in the columns below.

"Dated the twenty-fourth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty

Christian name and surname of the claimant at full length.	Place of abode.	Nature of Qualification.	Street, lane, or other place in the parish where the property is situate, and number of the house (if any).

"Signed,

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
GEORGE HUGGETT.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

Birmingham, Saturday, Dec. 23.

The Council of the Complete Suffrage Union met to-day. There were several letters read, giving an encouraging account of the progress of the agitation in favour of the proposal to move amendments on the supplies.

The Secretary laid on the table a draft copy of an abridgment and collection of Mr Crawford's letters on the supply question, together with the address of the Union on the subject, which was approved and ordered to be published as a tract, the proofs being subject to Mr Crawford's revision.

COUNCIL MEETING, DEC. 30.—The President in the chair. Numerous letters were read of a very encouraging nature.

The President reported that he had visited Cheltenham, Stroud, Gloucester, Bristol, and Bath, last week, in support of the plan of moving amendments on supply motions, and had attended conversational meetings at some places, and public meetings at others. The feeling in every case was strongly in favour of the proposal, and resolutions were passed in support of it, and the cause was altogether in hopeful progress. He reported also that, with the Secretary, he had visited Hull, Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford, and Leeds this week, with equally encouraging results.

The nature and attendance at these meetings will be best seen from the following classification:—

No. of M.P.'s.	Place.	Called by	Number Present.
2	Cheltenham	circular	30
2	Stroud	public	600
[All paid from 2d. to 6d.]			
2	Gloucester	circular	12
2	Bath	circular	150
2	Bristol	public	1,500
2	Hull	do., adjourned	400
[All paid 2d.]			
2	Halifax	circular	12
1	Huddersfield	public	600
2	Bradford	cir. to electors	250
2	Leeds	public	1,500
5,044			

Mr Sturge stated that he intended to attend the soiree to be held at Sheffield on Monday, and with the Secretary to visit Cheltenham, Gloucester, and Worcester, on such days next week as their friends there could conveniently arrange for holding public meetings in support of the same object.

The Council were gratified with the result of the visit, and confidently hope that those places which the deputation could not conveniently undertake, would be stirred up by the friends of the cause on the spot.

REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES—MR CRAWFORD'S PLAN. MEETING AT HULL.

On Tuesday evening, the 26th ult., the president and secretary of the National Complete Suffrage Union addressed a numerous and spirited meeting in the Victoria rooms, Hull; Mr J. Webster in the chair. The object of the meeting was to consider, and, if approved, give effect to, the proposal that the grievances of the people should be investigated and redressed before the supplies are voted. A wish having been expressed that the deputation should give some account of the principles and objects of the Complete Suffrage Union, the subject having never been very prominently brought under the notice of the people of Hull, Mr Sturge rose, and was received with enthusiastic applause.

He stated that the principles which the Complete Suffrage Union sought to advance were those of full, fair, and free representation for the people in the Commons' house of parliament. These principles were not new. They had been embodied in the British constitution in the earlier periods of our national history; and sixty years ago an attempt was made by the Duke of Richmond, and other radical reformers, to restore them to practical use. They were embodied also in that document called the people's charter, and there he would take the opportunity of expressing his conviction that it was drawn up with a full desire to do justice to the people [applause]. Some short time ago, when he felt himself called upon to come forward publicly and make an effort to get those principles fully carried out by the legislature, he found that on the first point of the charter there was what he, and those friends who were united with him in that object, thought was a deficiency, and the deficiency they were anxious to supply. By the charter it was proposed that those only, of twenty-one years of age, who had never been guilty of any violation of the law, should have the vote. Now, he was one of those who held that when a man had paid the penalty which the law demanded, and was penitent, he ought not to be looked upon and treated as an outcast all the days of his life [hear, hear]. This conviction was strongly impressed on his mind by the following circumstance:—A friend of his stated, at the first conference in Birmingham, that he had a servant in whose hands he would have trusted both his life and his property. He died, and after his death he learned that that servant had at one time been transported for seven years. Now, that man, in terms of the first point of the charter, would not have been entitled to vote [hear, hear]. The Complete Suffrage bill was more democratic than the charter on this point, inasmuch as it proposed to give the franchise to every male adult of twenty-one years of age, who had not been deprived of his rights of citizenship by a verdict of a jury of his countrymen. The ballot was the only point of the six which was not originally included in the constitution; and there he would beg to state that he hoped the time would come when the people would be placed in circumstances sufficiently independent to allow them to dispense with the ballot, and tender the vote openly and freely in whatever way or manner they might think best. In the present condition of society, however, he did not think the franchise could be fully, fairly, and freely exercised without the ballot, and therefore it was made one of the points of complete suffrage [hear]. When he mentioned the fact that a vote in some districts only tells for a fiftieth part of what it tells for in others, the necessity of equal electoral districts would appear obvious [applause]. With regard to the property qualification, even under the present law there was no such qualification for Scotland, and he did not see why England should have the franchise burdened with such an exclusive and unjust condition [hear]. They proposed that the property qualification should be abolished. The next point was the payment of members. By complete suffrage, the representatives of the people would be remunerated for their services; and he believed that those present would agree with him in thinking that, if members of parliament were not paid for their services by the people, they would pay themselves in a much more expensive way, than if the people paid them their wages [applause]. Then they proposed to make the parliaments annual. If ever he was doubtful as to the propriety and expediency of annual parliaments, he must say that he had no doubt whatever on the subject now, for, on looking at it more closely than he had done at first, he became more convinced that annual parliaments were necessary to secure that full measure of responsibility on the part of the representatives of the people which was essential to the permanent success of complete suffrage [applause]. He was glad to say that these principles were gaining ground in a most satisfactory manner. They were opposed by some on the ground that the working classes were not fit to enjoy the suffrage—that they were too ignorant to be entrusted with it. He held that there was no force in this objection [hear, hear]. He had been in America, and he must say that, with the exception of the slave states, universal suffrage not only answered well, but left the impression on his mind that America did not suffer from the franchise being there too wide, but because it was not carried far enough [applause]. He would maintain that the black man should have the suffrage as well as the white man, and there he would take the opportunity of expressing, in terms of the strongest indignation, the cruelty, injustice, and inconsistency of a democratic government sanctioning slavery [applause]. In the free states of America—in Connecticut for example—the people were so generally educated that there was not a single grown up person in it who could not read and write [applause]. While, in some of the schools, the son of the governor and the son of the labourer were to be found contending together for a prize [much applause]. Now, at the time of the American independence, some fifty years ago, the people of those states were not more intelligent than the people of this country; but now they were far before us, notwithstanding that a state church has been paid millions per annum for instructing the people for centuries back [applause]. And yet we are now told that the people of this country were too ignorant to be trusted with the franchise [hear]. If so, whose fault was it? the fault of the people, or of those who were paid to instruct them [hear, hear]? Most of those present had, he believed, heard of Sir James Graham's Factories Education bill. It was not difficult to conceive what kind of education such a measure would have provided for the factories children. When

he (Mr S.) thought of this bill, he was reminded of an anecdote told by a friend of his at a public meeting lately. He said he had attended the examination of a church and state school, at which the children, among other things, were asked what was the meaning of the scripture "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's;" when the universal response of the whole school, little girls and all, was, "To pay our taxes cheerfully" [great laughter]. This kind of education would, no doubt, have been carefully attended to under that bill, had it been passed; but still he could not help thinking that many of those who remonstrated against it, had but little cause to complain, seeing that they allowed the people to be oppressed by unjust legislation, without once holding up a finger against it [applause]. The measure might be viewed in the light of a just retribution, and should teach them the important lesson, that so long as the House of Commons did not represent the people, such measures as Sir James Graham's Education bill were naturally to be expected [hear, hear]. The education of the aristocracy was well fitted to prepare them for the course of legislation which they generally pursued; and, for his own part, if he had a child to educate, he would rather send him to an Indian wigwam, than to the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, where our present legislators were taught [great laughter]. Once give the people their just rights, and they would soon find that the ignorance which was charged against them would disappear [applause]. Mr Sturge then spoke at considerable length on the merits of the proposal to move amendments on the supplies. He stated a number of facts to prove the necessity of resorting to such a course of action—showed its constitutional and practical character, and concluded by urging the meeting to take measures for giving effect to it in Hull. Mr Sturge sat down amid general and enthusiastic applause.

A motion was then submitted to the meeting, to the effect that the proposal was constitutional, just, and necessary; that the members for Hull should be requested to support it, until the people were fully represented; and that in parliament a committee should be appointed to carry the resolution into effect.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Mr J. H. WILSON, who spoke at some length in support of the motion. Hull being a maritime place, he said he would prove the necessity of resorting to the extreme measure proposed by the member for Rochdale, by facts which they would no doubt understand and appreciate. He held in his hand a statement (which he read) of the number of foreign parcels which entered the port of Aberdeen, the largest seaport town on the east coast of Scotland, from which it appeared that while the foreign trade by British vessels had remained stationary for the last seven years, it had increased by foreign vessels nearly fifty per cent. [hear, hear]. He was not able to submit a detailed account of the state of the trade by foreign and British vessels at Hull, but had been informed by those who ought to know what the facts of the case were, that the most of their imports were now carried on foreign bottoms ("hear," and "yes"). Well, how did that happen? Why, simply because our present legislators, having no sympathy with the want or wishes of the people, legislated for their own selfish ends, and for them alone [applause]. The British shipowner could not compete with the foreign shipowner, because everything that entered into the construction and maintenance of his vessels was taxed to the highest point of exorbitance; while foreigners were building their vessels at a low rate, and yet paying high wages to British artisans, in order that their vessels might approximate as nearly as possible in every respect to vessels built in England [hear, hear]. Now, here he would ask, what could remedy that grievance? Why, nothing but a system of representation which would lead to the election of representatives competent to legislate for the advantage of all classes of the community [hear]. If a House of Commons of that kind were now in existence, they would feel it to be their duty to relieve the springs of industry—unshackle commerce—substitute a property, not an income, tax, for the present deceptive mode of indirect taxation, and then the wooden walls of Old England would yet compete successfully with those of any other nation in the world [applause]. As another evidence of the incompetency of the present House of Commons to sympathise with the maritime interest, he would refer to the Merchant Seamen's Fund act [applause]. That measure was called a charity, and yet it provided that, before the widows and orphans of sailors, who were "killed, wounded, or died in the service," could receive any benefit from the fund, every sailor must have paid into it at the rate of one shilling a month for five years, and every master two shillings a month during the like period [hear]. Now, it so happened that there were complaints at almost every port as to the management of that fund; and no wonder, when it appeared, from a parliamentary return which he held in his hand, that while the receipts, during the year 1841, were £19,467 13s. 4d., the expense of management by the trustees amounted to the large sum of £5,715 9s. 11d. ["shame"]. Now, how did this mismanagement arise? He held that it chiefly arose from the fact that the trustees were not elected by those who paid the money, but by a very small portion of them—by the captains, or about one in ten of the real constituency [applause]. To remedy this grievance, a few members of parliament, in 1840, prepared a draft of a bill to be submitted to parliament, founded on the report of a committee which inquired into the subject, and which proposed that the fund, instead of being considered in the light of a charity, should be placed on the footing of a benefit club, and that the managers of the funds should be chosen by all who paid them [applause]. But such was the indifference which prevailed in the House on the subject, that not ten men could be found to take any interest in the matter; and the result was, that when the whigs went out, and the Tories went into office, the measure was thrown aside, because it originated with those who were now in opposition [hear, hear]. Had the people been fairly and fully represented in parliament, that measure would now have been the law of the land, and the honest and generous seaman would have something to support him in his declining years [applause]. What was wanted, then, was a parliament which would represent the seaman as well as the landman, the owners of vessels as well as the owners of land [applause]. They know well, that in order to have a ship which would be safe, comfortable, and profitable, she must combine the properties of fast sailing, and large burden on a small draught of water [hear, hear]. The owner of a vessel of this kind would

consult the interests of all parties interested in the matter by keeping that vessel in sound condition. Well now, that was a type of the British constitution as modeled by Edward the First. It was so constructed that it consulted the interests of all classes of the community, and happy would it have been for Britain had the constitution, as thus modeled, been kept in sound condition. Then two members were returned from each county, two from each borough; they were paid by those who elected them (and they were elected "freely and indifferently"); they served but for one year, and no property qualification was required of any of them [hear]. Such was the working of the constitution that Sir John Fortescue, lord chancellor of England during the reign of Henry the Sixth, in his work "On the Excellence of the Laws of England," says, "The king cannot alter the laws or make new ones without the consent of the whole kingdom in parliament assembled. Hence it is that the inhabitants of England are rich in gold and silver, and all the necessities and conveniences of life. Every one according to his rank hath all things which make life easy and happy; and these," he adds, are "the effects of laws founded on the principle that a king is given for the sake of a kingdom, and not a kingdom for the sake of a king" [applause]. That was the model they wished now to strike out, or rather restore [applause]. If the British constitution was sound in theory—and the grand object of their visit to Hull that day was to prove the necessity and advantage of making the theory and practice of that constitution harmonise—the proposal to suspend the supplies until the people's grievances were heard and redressed, was fitted to bring about directly or indirectly that desirable end, and his earnest hope was, that the people of Hull would give it their zealous and energetic support [applause].

The resolution was then put, when an amendment was moved on it, that "the House of Commons be petitioned to stop the supplies until the principles of the people's charter become the law of the land."

The deputation said they were sorry that the amendment had been proposed, as it was substantially the same as the resolution, and especially as it would be the only instance in which the chartists had shown any disposition to oppose this movement.

The mover of the amendment, whose name we did not learn, would not withdraw it, and the consequence was that it was lost by a great majority.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the deputation. A committee was appointed to carry out the resolution, and thanks being voted to the chairman, the meeting broke up.

HALIFAX CONVERSATIONAL MEETING.

A conversational meeting was held at the Swan Inn, Halifax, on Wednesday, Dec. 27th, to hear a deputation from the "National Complete Suffrage Union," on the subject of moving amendments on supply motions next session of parliament, with a view to obtain the redress of the grievances of the people.

Mr Sturge stated the nature of the proposal of Mr Sharman Crawford, M.P., urged the necessity of resorting to such an alternative as Mr Crawford suggests, and defended the plan as constitutional, simple, practical, and just. Mr Wilson also spoke in support of the plan. Several questions were asked on points of detail, and answered by the deputation to the satisfaction of all present. A resolution was then adopted, approving of the proposal, and a committee was appointed to carry that resolution into effect. It was understood that steps would be taken in order to memorialise the member for Halifax to give the principle his support in parliament. A vote of thanks was passed to the deputation, and the meeting separated.

HUDDERSFIELD—PUBLIC MEETING.

On the evening of Wednesday, Dec. 27th, a public meeting was held in the Guildhall to consider the proposal of the hon. member for Rochdale, that the people should claim from their representatives, during the next session of parliament, a recurrence to the constitutional principle, that "the grievances of the people should be investigated and redressed, before the supplies are voted." The hall was crowded to inconvenience by a most respectable and attentive audience. Benjamin Robinson, Esq., was called to preside, and took the chair amid the warmest acclamations of the meeting. Mr Robinson read the bill calling the meeting, made a few appropriate remarks in favour of the object for which it was convened, and then introduced Mr. Sturge, as a deputation from the council of the Complete Suffrage Association, to explain and enforce the plan which Mr Crawford had proposed.

Mr Sturge was received with a general and hearty burst of acclamation. He held that the proposal which had been made by Mr Sharman Crawford, was one which admitted of the co-operation of all classes of reformers, who had grievances to complain of, without compromising the principles of any of them, and that it was especially valuable as affording a means whereby a disheartened and despairing people might realise that justice, in the representation of the kingdom, to which they were alike entitled by the claims of equity and the principles of the British constitution. Mr Sturge then stated a number of facts, in connexion with the legislation of last session of parliament, to make out a case which would raise the necessity for carrying the plan fully into effect. The case appeared so strong, that when the merits of the proposal were explained, the meeting unanimously expressed their warmest approbation of them.

Mr Wilson, as the other member of the deputation, followed in support of the proposal. He pointed out the various advantages which would result from the plan being spiritedly carried out, and combated several objections that had been taken to it.—Amongst the advantages which would attend its adoption and operation—he held that it would give rise to important discussions on individual grievances,

which of necessity would be reported by the newspapers generally; and thus the facts and arguments, bearing on the grievances of the people and the remedies they had suggested, would find their way into circles, where, by a more direct mode of agitation, they might never be heard of. But the main advantage would be, that it would, if persevered in, compel the government, either to redress the grievances of the people, or appeal to the country, on the ground which the hon. member for Rochdale had chosen. Both the speakers dwelt at length on the necessity of the people rousing themselves in support of the plan—an enlightened, and generally and spiritedly expressed public opinion being absolutely necessary to its success. A resolution was passed to the effect—that the present position and prospects of this country were such as to call for stringent action, and that the proposal to withhold the supplies until the grievances of the people are investigated and redressed, afforded the means of obtaining for the people, full, fair, and free representation—and that the member for Huddersfield be requested to give the plan his best support.

The meeting was then addressed by a gentleman from Manchester, who stated that he had been a reformer for fifty years, and that he felt convinced that if the proposal for moving amendments on the supplies had been made twenty years ago, and honestly carried into effect, the people would not now have to complain of an oligarchical despotism.

Mr CLAYTON moved a vote of thanks to the deputation. He said he was a chartist, and he rejoiced to find that a point of union had now been formed for the co-operation of all classes of reformers, and which he earnestly hoped would tend to rally the friends of civil and religious liberty, and lead to the overthrow of that ascendancy which class legislation had created and sustained. The motion was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks was most cordially passed to the Chairman, and the meeting then closed.

BRADFORD.—CONVERSATIONAL MEETING.

The leading friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom, in Bradford, have had an opportunity of considering the proposal of Mr W. S. Crawford, to move amendments on supply motions, until the people's grievances are heard and redressed. On the evening of Thursday, the 28th, upwards of two hundred electors, and several non-electors, met in the Temperance rooms, to hear the deputation from the council of the Complete Suffrage Union on the subject. They were invited by circular, and heartily approved of Mr Crawford's proposal. The chairman, one of the oldest and most zealous reformers of the town, avowed himself decidedly in favour of the plan, after hearing it explained by Mr Sturge and Mr Wilson, and warmly commended it to the approbation of the meeting. A young man, whose name we did not learn, came forward and asked if there was an act of parliament, by virtue of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer could take the supplies in the event of any such opposition being made to the voting of them, which Mr Crawford's plan contemplated. He found that such was the opinion that Mr Willens, an eminent London barrister, entertained, and laid down in a work on the British constitution, published some time ago. Mr Wilson, in reply, stated that the point raised had been brought under the notice of Mr Crawford, whose opinion was, that the House of Commons, and the House of Commons alone, could grant the supplies, and that no money could be appropriated without the consent and vote of that House. This opinion was also stated by William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, who laid it down that taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power—the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone; and by De Lolme, who, in his celebrated work on the British constitution, speaks of the right of withholding the supplies as the only ultimate forcible privilege possessed by the British parliament, as the safeguard of all the liberties of the people, religious and civil. These authorities were sufficient to set the question at rest. A resolution, approving of the plan, and appointing a committee to take what steps they might think best suited to give effect to it on the part of the people of Bradford, and votes of thanks having been passed to the deputation and the chairman, the meeting, which was most harmonious and spirited throughout, separated.

GREAT MEETING AT LEEDS.

The Committee of the Leeds Complete Suffrage association having resolved to get up a series of lectures and meetings, in furtherance of the principles and objects of complete suffrage, arrangements were made for that purpose, on a scale commensurate with the importance of the subject. Being desirous to secure the able services of Mr Thomas Spencer, of Hinton Charterhouse, Bath, they invited him to deliver a course of lectures. One of the days named being Friday, Mr Spencer, in reply, stated the only days on which he could conveniently leave home for such a distance were Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the committee hastily construing this as meaning the Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of the Christmas week, announced Mr Spencer's lectures for those days accordingly. The result was, Mr Spencer could not possibly attend. The meetings, nevertheless, were held, and interesting and appropriate speeches were delivered by Mr J. E. Giles, Mr Richardson, president of the association, and others.

DELEGATE MEETING.

On Friday afternoon, a meeting of delegates was held. There were about twenty present. Mr Sturge and Mr Wilson, the president and secretary of the

National Complete Suffrage Union, were also present.

A good deal of interesting discussion took place as to the best means of promoting the suffrage cause in Yorkshire. Various recommendations were minuted, and an earnest feeling shown on behalf of the cause. The proposal to seek the redress of grievances by moving amendments on the supplies, was introduced by Mr Sturge. The subject was fully canvassed, and a resolution unanimously adopted in its favour, the committee of the Leeds Complete Suffrage association taking the responsibility of carrying it out.

THE GREAT MEETING IN THE BAZAAR.

At six o'clock the Bazaar was thrown open for the public demonstration, and by seven o'clock about fifteen hundred people had assembled in its spacious hall. On the platform we observed several members of the Leeds town council, and a number of the middle classes, who promise to exercise an important influence on the electoral body of the town. A large proportion of the working classes were also present, and seemed to anticipate an interesting and encouraging meeting.

ARTHUR LUPTON, jun., Esq., vice-president of the Leeds Complete Suffrage association, was unanimously called to the chair, and took his seat amid the warmest applause of the audience. He delivered a most philosophical and eloquent speech. In the outset he assumed that the condition of the working classes of this country was worse than that of any nation in the world. He traced this to misgovernment, and from facts in connexion with the condition of the working classes in Austria, where he had traveled, showed that it is much better for a people to be under the despotism of one man, than under the despotism of a government which, while it professed to be representative, was in point of fact relentlessly despotic. He then showed that from the working classes had sprung most of those great and good men who had become distinguished in the world of science and literature, enumerating a list of names from Luther, the son of a miner, and Calvin, the son of a cooper, down to Newton, and Watt, and Chantry, and Burns. In every department of arts and science working men had risen to eminence, but none of them had ever become bishops, and but few had ever risen to eminence in the bench, the bar, or the legislature. These sources of honourable ambition had been shut against them by professional and aristocratic jealousy; and while government exists for itself and its own class, and not for the people and the interests of all, the legislature would contain but little of the genius, and worth, and honesty of the working man. The object of the suffrage movement was to redress that grievance, and no doubt the conduct of those present that night would prove that the working men were worthy to enjoy the rights which were their own, and of which they had been unjustly deprived. Mr Lupton was repeatedly cheered in the course of his speech, and sat down amid the general applause of the meeting.

Mr PATTERSON, the secretary, then rose and read letters of apology for non-attendance, and warmly approving of the suffrage movement, from Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., W. S. Crawford, Esq., M.P., J. Gully, Esq., and others, some of which shall appear in our next number. Mr Patterson then moved a resolution declaring class legislation to be the main cause of the multiplied evils from which this country is now suffering, and pledging the meeting to approve and carry out the principles and objects of complete suffrage, as the only remedy which would afford immediate and permanent relief.

The motion was supported by L. HEYWORTH, Esq., of Liverpool, who was received with great applause. He delivered a most interesting and instructive speech. He took his stand on the maxim of Lord Chatham, that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and from this premise he reasoned a variety of conclusions, all bearing more or less on the evils of class legislation. He compared the present system of government to that of the king who coveted Naboth's vineyard. That king wanted to get the property of another man, and that other man would not put up with it. But the king had a prime minister, and that prime minister, wishing to oblige his royal master, soon got over the difficulty. "We shall make a law," he said, "and to that law we will get the king's seal, and then by the authority of that law we will take Naboth's vineyard." The thing pleased the king, and the law was made, and the vineyard taken [applause]. And so it was with all governments which did not represent the people; so it was with the House of Commons of this country—they made laws without the people's consent, and then they robbed the people by an act of parliament [applause]. Mr Heyworth advocated direct taxation, and by a process of induction most clearly showed that in the end it would be more advantageous to the wealthier as well as the poorer classes of society, than our present unjust and oppressive system of direct taxation. He maintained that nothing could cover these great evils, but giving to the people equal representation, and sat down amid great cheering.

The CHAIRMAN then said he had now the pleasure of introducing Mr Sturge, who, with Mr Wilson, had come to Leeds as a deputation to explain and enforce Mr W. S. Crawford's proposal to move amendments on the supplies until the grievances of the people were heard and redressed.

Mr STURGE then came forward, and was received in a most enthusiastic manner, the audience simultaneously cheering and waving their hats, which continued for some time. On the applause subsiding, Mr Sturge said he was glad to say that the question, not only among the working classes, but among the people at large, was not now what is justice, but what are the best means of obtaining it [hear, hear]. When he first took a part in

the suffrage movement, his aim was to advance it, in the first place, by endeavouring to break down the prejudices of the middle classes, amongst whom he had a good deal to move, in the hope and desire that that would prepare the way for the united efforts of all classes of the community being brought to bear on that system of class legislation from which our sufferings, as a nation and as a people, chiefly sprang [hear, hear]. He was glad to say that the prejudices of the middle classes were fast breaking down, and his conviction was that the triumph of the people's cause was now reduced to a question of time [hear]. As he appeared there that evening as a deputation from the council of the Complete Suffrage Union, with reference to the proposal to obtain redress of grievances by moving amendments on the supplies, he might state the circumstances which led the council to adopt this mode of action in preference to any other at the present time [hear, hear]. When the council of the Union were deliberating as to what steps they could best take, during the next session of parliament, to promote the cause of complete suffrage, he received a letter from Sharman Crawford, proposing that the people should be recommended to claim from their representatives a recurrence to the constitutional principle that the grievances of the people should be investigated and redressed before the supplies are voted [applause]. On looking closely at that plan of action, it appeared to the council to be one which, in present circumstances, was well adapted to facilitate the objects of the Union. It was recommended as being constitutional, just, and necessary, and as affording a basis on which all classes of reformers could consistently unite to obtain the redress of grievances, and the concession of rights [hear]. And there he would distinctly state, that, however valuable the plan might be, as being fitted to secure the redress of individual grievances, he for one would not have supported it had he not seen it to be a lever by which the friends of an equality of political rights might constitutionally overthrow the monopoly of class legislation, and obtain for the people that voice in the choice of their law-makers, to which they were entitled alike by the claims of equity and the British constitution [applause]. The subject had been already brought extensively under the notice of the public, and he was glad to say that it had met with the most unanimous and decided support of all classes of reformers [applause]. He had attended numerous meetings, called specially to consider it, within the last ten days, and at each of these meetings resolutions had been framed in its favour. At Bristol they had a meeting of two thousand; at Stroud, they had a large meeting; at Huddersfield the hall was crowded; and at Leeds he did hope and believe, the proposal would be no less warmly received [great cheering]. He was pleased to find that the friends of religious liberty were now coming forward in behalf of the people's civil rights. It had never been a part of his religion, to separate it from politics. Christianity did not do so, and it would, he believed, be found, if properly looked into, that the distinction had been made, not by Christianity, but by priestcraft [great cheering]. The divine Founder of the Christian religion laid it down, that we must do justly, before we can love mercy; and if that rule were acted on by mankind generally, the oppressions of the people would soon disappear [hear, hear]. The design of the present movement was to obtain justice for the people, and the necessity for resorting to it, as an extreme measure, he could endeavour to make out. Mr Sturge then read to the meeting an analysis of the present House of Commons, in order to exhibit its exclusive character, and asked if it could reasonably be expected, that such a House could legislate for the wants of the people? The exclusive character of the present House of Commons he traced to the limited nature of the franchise—the arbitrary and partial distribution of the electoral constituencies—to bribery, intimidation, and the influence of the established church. He showed, by a variety of statistics, the unequal and unjust character of the representation, and contended that nothing would remedy the evil but complete suffrage. He quoted largely from the votes of last session of parliament to prove the corrupt nature of our present practice of legislation; and proved, by Mr Crawford's letter and his own observations, that it is now so difficult a matter to get a substantial motion brought on for discussion, that few members within the House possessed the moral courage or physical strength equal to attempt it. For nearly four months did Sharman Crawford struggle to get a motion for leave to bring in a bill to extend the franchise and shorten the duration of Parliament, and after all, when he did get his motion brought forward, the debate was mostly formal, few members being willing to enter on it, and still fewer inclined to hear the subject discussed [hear, hear]. The proposal to move amendments on the supplies would enable the few honest members in the House to bring on discussions at a most interesting and appropriate time; and those discussions would of themselves be more valuable than they could estimate. If the course were persevered in, as it would be if the public voice were loudly expressed—the legislation of the House would be brought to a dead lock [hear]. And if so, then, it would be for the people to say whether they would any longer be governed by men who did not possess their confidence, or by men in whom they could put their trust [applause]. The measure was, he admitted, an ulterior resort; but it was simple, just, and practical, and, if warmly supported by public opinion, must succeed [hear]. Bad though the condition of this country now was, and desponding though many of the people were, he believed it yet possessed the elements of future greatness—for it was capable of maintaining three times its present population in comfort and abundance, if relieved from the enormous evils of class legislation, and governed by just and equal laws [long continued cheering].

The Chairman then introduced Mr J. H. WILSON, who was received with applause. He contended that the plan of action suggested by Mr Crawford was constitutional, just, and necessary—offered a point of union for the co-operation of all classes of reformers, and held forth the prospect of realising for the people full, fair, and free representation [hear]. The justice and necessity of the proposal had been proved by Mr Sturge—its constitutional character did not admit of a doubt, and it therefore remained only for him (Mr Wilson) to show that it was fitted to subvert the political emancipation of the people. At the present time the friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom, were each contending for the redress of individual grievances. The abolition of the corn-laws was the grand aim of the Anti-corn-law League—the overthrow of the established church, the earnest desire of the promoters of the forthcoming Anti-state-

church Convention—and the political enfranchisement of the great body of the people, was the simple object of the suffrage movement. These three great classes of reformers are seeking to obtain each its own ends, by the use of its own means, and perhaps they might, one and all, realise the full measure of their just demands. But his own opinion was, that valuable though individual effort be, they would, in the end have to come to united action, which alone would prevail [applause]. The relative position of the Anti-corn-law League and the complete suffrage movement had been alluded to by Mr Sturge. It was thus illustrated by that able and excellent man Colonel Thompson:—"The best way for two waggons traveling on the same road, and endeavouring to pass a turnpike-gate, is to let the foremost go through, and then both can steadily pursue the same route, and arrive at their several destinations without the one inflicting damage on the other." The gallant col. assumes that the suffrage movement is traveling in the wake of the Anti-corn-law League. This assumption I will not concede in point of fact, but in the meantime will admit to be correct for the sake of argument (hear). Well now, let us apply the illustration. The anti-corn-law waggon is flying at railway speed. It shoots away from the suffrage waggon like a dart, and triumphantly overcomes every obstacle that stands in the way of its careering progress. But, mark now, all at once it comes to a standstill. The turnpike-gate, which the gallant colonel, in the exuberance of his fancy and benevolence of his heart, threw wide open, is under a dead lock, while Peel, as its keeper, holds the key in its pocket (laughter and applause). Our friends, Messrs Cobden and Bright, petition, remonstrate, and demand, but the Tamworth toll-keeper is stubborn and callous as a Stoic (a laugh). The Anti-state-church Convention waggon appears in sight, and bang up it goes to the gate too (a laugh). "Can't you get through?" is the first question from the friends of religious freedom. "We can't," says Cobden, while Bright looks queer, and the colonel gets fidgety. "Why?" "Because the toll-keeper is afraid that you might follow" (great applause and laughter). But another waggon drives up. It contains Mr Sturge with complete suffrage, and Mr Thomas Duncombe with the charter (applause). "Holloa, Cobden, you're there, are you?" shout the friends of civil liberty; and John Bright somewhat coolly answers, "We are." Well now, here is a pretty mess; three waggons at the turnpike-gate, and all jammed up, because the toll-keeper don't choose to let them through (a laugh). In this predicament Sharman Crawford addresses the friends of commercial freedom. Tell the bold Mr Cobden, had the people got complete suffrage in '32 when they got the ten-pound Reform bill, would you have been knocking here to-day for total repeal (great cheering)? Would the friends of religious freedom be remonstrating against the natural and necessary assumptions of a state church? Would the bones of thirteen thousand of our Indian army have been bleaching in the defiles of Afghanistan, and thousands more in the fruitful valleys of the Scinde (hear, hear)? Would five and thirty thousand armed men have been stationed in Ireland to subvert, by physical force, the rights and privileges of the Irish people (hear, hear, and applause)? These things have been, and such cruelties, injustice, and oppression ever will be until the people be acknowledged, in fact as they are nominally in law, the legitimate source of power. "Come now," then adds Mr Crawford, "join us, and let us test the maxim—'Union is strength, and a threefold cord is not easily broken.'" If the toll-keeper won't yield to one just demand, we shall stop his pay; and, if that won't do, we have influence enough to command the key. We won't break the gate down (hear, hear). We have no sympathy with Rebecca's doings. We are men of peace and order, and by the weapons of righteousness and truth we shall force our way [applause]. How an appeal of this kind would tell I know not, but from what I have seen and heard of those excellent men who are moving heaven and earth to remove grievances the evils of which all are prepared to acknowledge, there is reason to hope that it would not fall on their ears as a tale that has been often told (hear). Metaphor aside. We don't want the friends of commercial and religious freedom to move at once on the votes of supply. We would rather see them move first by substantive motions—the one party for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws—the other for the separation of church and state (hear). Defeated, as I believe they would be, on both these motions, we would ask them then to fall in with us in our amendments on the representation, and fight side by side with the friends of civil liberty for an equality of political rights. In this way discussions might be forced on a thousand individual grievances which substantive motions could never overtake. The newspaper press, finding those discussions interesting and important, would report them fully on all sides. Hence facts and arguments would be scattered over a wide field, would find their way into circles and into minds which the more direct agitation of our principles would fail to reach; and thus, too, public opinion would be created, enlightened, and extended from day to day, and from week to week, until its multiplied power were sufficiently great to bear down the strongest despotism that ever trampled on the rights and liberties of man (applause). Mr Wilson then proceeded to reply to several objections that had been taken to the proposal of Mr Crawford. On this head he said, one of the members for Birmingham, Mr Muntz, objected to the proposal at the great public meeting there the other day, on the ground that it was wrong in principle for a minority to govern a majority. And he illustrated his objection thus:—suppose now, that half a dozen young fellows were to enter this Hall and move amendments on every motion we could submit, would that be right or proper? Such is the substance, at least, of Mr Muntz's illustrations; but it strikes me, that when he used it, he cut a stick to break his own head (a laugh). Now the case stands thus. The meeting at Birmingham was a town meeting. It professed to represent the inhabitants of Birmingham, and I believe it did so. But suppose now, that those who were present had got up the meeting by the influence of a mere fractional part of the inhabitants of Birmingham—that they were making laws, and voting money, the direct tendency of which would be to oppress and distract them—cripple their trade, and destroy their manufactures. I suppose, that in the full consciousness that these laws, while fitted to advance the selfish ends of those who made them, must make the people of Birmingham restive and unruly; and that to keep them in subjection, the police force would have to be doubled, and the local taxes proportionally increased—would not any

half-dozen of those, who had reason to believe that they possessed the confidence of their oppressed townsmen, and felt the responsibility on them, and as Christians, not only be right in principle, but bound in duty to go forward and move amendments from morning till night, and night till morning, if by so doing they could hold such misgovernment in check [great cheering]? If Mr Muntz felt aggrieved by this conduct, let him appeal to the inhabitants of Birmingham. I ask them if it was with their consent and approbation that those "half-dozen of fellows," as he called them, had made this factious opposition [applause]? Now this is precisely the case with Mr Crawford and those who are supporting this movement. We believe that the House of Commons does not represent the people—that its actions are oppressive and despotic—that it is voting away the people's money for anything and everything but the people's benefit—that it is ruling by physical instead of moral force—that by each succeeding act, it plunges the country into difficulties and debt. We not only believe all this to be true, but we prove it—we place the facts in evidence before the world, and challenge contradiction [hear]. We show, too, that to our petitions, remonstrances, and complaints, parliament has turned a deaf ear—that by its tactics and manoeuvres, it has rendered nugatory all our efforts even to obtain an inquiry into the grievances of which the people have complained. We offer to prove all this and more, and in the strength of our case we rest the necessity of resorting to the proposal we now recommend to your adoption, that the grievances of the people should be investigated and redressed before the supplies are voted [applause].

Dr SMILES moved a resolution to the effect that the meeting approve of Mr Crawford's proposal, and pledge themselves to use every constitutional means to support it. He spoke at considerable length, and in a most happy and telling manner. The proposal had his warmest support, and he would do all in his power to give effect to it. He spoke also strongly in favour of peace principles, recommending the people not to enlist, and urged all classes of reformers to unite on the great question of practical agitation recommended by Mr Crawford.

The motion was seconded by Councillor JACKSON, in an energetic speech.

Mr BROOKS objected to the motion because it did not go far enough, and moved an amendment to the effect that the supplies should be stopped until they got the People's Charter. He begged, also, to ask Mr Sturge whether or not this movement was, at bottom, an anti-corn-law movement.

Mr STURGE could easily answer that question. It was an anti-corn-law movement thus far—that, if carried out to the extent which the Complete Suffrage Union contemplated when they took it up, it would sweep away the corn law, and many other bad laws too (applause). He looked upon the corn laws as but one branch of the great tree of monopoly of class legislation; and, until that tree be thrown down and uprooted, monopolies of every kind must continue to abound (great applause). He was, in principle, an anti-corn-law repealer—he would rejoice to see those laws abolished, but he advocated this proposal to move amendments on the supplies without reference to the Anti-corn-law League or any other organisation, further than to point to it as a ground on which all classes of reformers could consistently unite (applause).

Mr ROSS seconded the amendment.

Mr STURGE said the resolution was more indefinite than any of the resolutions on the subject passed at the meetings to which he referred; and perhaps his friends would allow him to suggest that they add to it, "until the people be fully, fairly, and freely represented in parliament" [great applause].

This being consented to on the part of those who brought forward the resolution, some discussion followed, several of Mr Brooks's supporters evincing a disposition to press the question to a division. Mr Brooks himself having risen in his seat in the gallery, and discovered a disposition to withdraw the amendment, a blunt-looking young man, who stood immediately below him with a cudgel in his hand, instantly raised it with a most knowing look, addressed Mr Brooks thus—"If you do, you know," which set in motion the risible faculties of a few in his neighbourhood. The amendment, however, was withdrawn, and the motion was then put, and carried unanimously, the meeting cheering vehemently.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the deputation, also to the chairman, and the meeting separated at half-past ten o'clock.

Postscript.

Wednesday, Jan. 3rd.

FRANCE.—The democratic speech of M. Laffitte, the provisional president of the Chamber of Deputies, on resigning the chair to M. Sauzet, has created quite a sensation amongst all parties. "The speech of M. Laffitte," says the *Times*, "may however be regarded as a spark thrown into a mass of combustibles. The explosion which followed indicates sufficiently how rancorous will be the character of the discussion on the Fortifications and Dotation bills; for these questions were in the minds of both parties when the one cheered and the other cried down the unexpected firebrand leave-taking of the 'president by seniority.' Up to the moment when M. Laffitte commenced his discourse, a feeling prevailed that the session would pass over without any more exciting display than squabbling on railroad schemes; but the prospect is now very different." It is supposed that the Dotation bills will be withdrawn.

The *Moniteur* publishes a royal ordinance, dismissing from the post of mayor the Count de Montbreton, and the Marquis Anjorant, for having gone to London to pay their court to the Duke de Bordeaux. The government, it was said, intended to bring to trial the officers who lately repaired to London with the same object, "for having violated an article of the laws of the army, which prohibits the military from quitting the kingdom without special leave, under the penalty of forfeiting their commission."

SPAIN.—Letters from Madrid of the 24th ult. state that the ministry intended shortly to present to the Cortes bills relative to the municipalities and provincial deputations, to the organisation of the na-

tional guard and council of state, and to demand an authorisation to levy the taxes. This last object, however, once attained, they would, it was believed, prorogue the Chambers for a few months, when the discussion on the above projects of law would commence.

THE DUKE OF BORDEAUX.—The *Cologne Gazette* publishes a letter from Hanover of the 26th ult., stating that the King of Hanover had sent a special invitation to the Duke of Bordeaux to visit his court.

EARL GREY.—We are glad to learn from the most satisfactory source that Lord Grey has passed another good night. The noble Earl is still surrounded by all the members of his family circle.—*Times*.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.—A Roman catholic and a repeal paper, the *Galway Vindicator*, makes the following charge against the commanding officer of the 82nd, stationed at Loughrea. "We learn with the utmost astonishment that Captain Eccles, of the 82nd, refused on Christmas eve to pay the catholic soldiers under his command at Loughrea, in order to prevent them giving any contribution, as they had intended, to their religious pastors on the following morning at chapel. Although the men expressed the greatest anxiety to be enabled to fulfil this act of their religious creed, Captain Eccles was inexorable, and refused their request, point blank."

THE ARMS BILL.—The magistrates of the Carlow session have decided that every man should be admitted against whom no objection was made by the constabulary or a magistrate without further inquiry, or requiring his appearance. In consequence of this arrangement the entire division of Carlow, consisting of the baronies of Carlow, Idrome East, and Idrome West, and Lower St Mullin's, was registered, with the exception of two—provided the residence of the applicants was in each notice accurately described; and where this description was omitted, they were to apply again at a future session. By this sweeping arrangement 742 persons were admitted as entitled to be registered, subject to the objection on the grounds of non-description, and all in less than one hour.

LETTER FROM MR O'CONNELL ON COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.—The following letter from Mr O'Connell, in reply to an invitation to attend the great meeting held last week at Leeds, was read on that occasion. It has been received too late to appear in its proper place:—

COPY. Darrynane Abbey, 20th Dec., 1843.

SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of invitation to the meeting of the Leeds Complete Suffrage Association, on the 29th inst, which you did me the honour to transmit to me. I am sincerely sorry that it is totally out of my power to accept that invitation. But the lateness of the season, the distance, and other paramount engagements, preclude the possibility of my being in Leeds on the 29th. I regret it much, because I should feel great pleasure in affording any assistance in my power to advance the cause of justice to the people of England—justice which that people can never attain until class legislation shall be put an end to—and legislation for all substituted, by giving the right of representation to every male adult in the community. Every man has an equal right to the suffrage, because every man is bound by the laws which are passed by parliament. If you could show any class of men who were not compelled to obey the law, I would consent to have that class excluded from the suffrage. But it is direct and palpable tyranny to give one class exclusively the power to make the law, and condemn all other classes to obey such law-makers. It is idle to call the people of England a free people, as long as the present system of class legislation prevails. No—they are not a free people. The English are now divided into two distinct classes—a master-class having power to make the law, and a slave-class having no such power, nor any share in it; but who are servilely subject to the master will of the dominant rulers. Shame, eternal shame, to such of the English nation as slavishly submit to such an order of things—and honour to the Complete Suffrage Association, who are determined to struggle zealously for the natural rights of all. Indeed the man who sees his neighbour exercising a right to vote merely because he has some capriciously ordained qualification which he himself happens not to have—I say, the man who sees such an injustice perpetrated, and yet does not seek for redress, is in my mind a most contemptible being, unworthy the name of man.

There never was a greater failure than Lord Grey's Reform Bill. It just extended the suffrage far enough to attain the point at which intimidation or bribery, or both, must decide the far greatest number of elections; and the present parliament is a complete specimen of what a bribery and intimidation parliament must necessarily be.

I know that some of the chartists have done much mischief to the cause of reform, by disturbing public meetings, and preventing the consolidation of reformers agreeing with each other in principle, but differing upon some matters of detail. I trust a better spirit is now aroused, and that the iniquitous system of suffrage now existing will soon give way to one based on common sense, and calculated to do justice to all. I have the honour to be

Sir, your obedient servant,
(signed) DANIEL O'CONNELL.

John Patterson, Esq.

LIEUTENANT MUNRO.—It does not appear that the statement which has been put forth by several of the papers with something like authority—namely, that Lieutenant Munro would surrender this session and take his trial at the Old Bailey, has any foundation in truth. No notice of any such intention has been given to the officers of the Central Criminal court, nor is it likely, under all the circumstances, that there will be.—*Times*.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is 1210 quarters; and of foreign 440 quarters. No alteration in prices.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We beg to remind our correspondents, whose letters we are always happy to receive, that when parliament opens we shall be able to insert nothing but what is of pressing importance.

Letters have been received from "U.," "J. M.," "James Richardson," "G. Legge," "A Constant Reader," "W. Sewell" (inclosing 10s. for the convention), "One who thinks that ministers are not more than other men," "Villicus," "The Poor Man's Advocate," "Allen Harper," and "Liberalis," all of which we respectfully acknowledge, but are unable to insert.

Received from Norwood 10s. for the convention.

"Thomas Jones." We are quite unable to reply to his query.

"A Congregational Dissenter," came too late last week for a reply, either privately or in these notices. We should have answered in the negative.

"A Poor Man." We will do our best for him.

"Beta." Complete suffrage wafers may be obtained of Tullis, Cupar, Fifeshire; or J. and G. Dyer, London. Subscriptions to the convention should be forwarded to Dr Cox, Triangle, Hackney.

The Index and Title Page for the last year's volume will be published with the Number of the 17th of January.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JAN. 3, 1844.

SUMMARY.

A HAPPY new year to you, kind readers, one and all! We greet you with cordiality of heart, and with freshness of spirits. We have entered with you the porch of a new chamber of time, and, as we pass along, shall do our office as best we may, in commenting upon the events with which its walls are hung, screened from the view of mortals by the curtain of futurity. At present all is uncertainty—mingled expectation and fear, in which, however, expectation greatly predominates. We summed up in our last number the moral of the year 1843. We have given in our present a brief glance at the position and prospects of those principles which most deeply interest our hearts. And now we start afresh, conscious of our responsibility, cheerful in a sense of our own integrity, thankful to our friends for the lenity with which they have treated our manifold imperfections, and reliant upon strength greater than ours to uphold us in the work which yet remains to be done. Our path is a straight one, but often rough and thorny. We are seldom perplexed as to the direction which duty bids us to take, for we find one fundamental rule suffice us on all occasions. Viewing each subject, as it turns up, through the medium of New Testament justice and benevolence, we are seldom at a loss to determine their character. Need we say that such as we have been we are still likely to be—changed only in this respect, that years and experience have somewhat mellowed our judgment?

We shall open our summary for the year by a reference to the President's message to the Congress of the United States. It is a poor affair, long, *ad captandum vulgus*, a heap of words, covering the naked deformity of vicious principles—not even characterised by moderate ability. To swindle Oregon out of British hands, to annex Texas to the States, whereby to gain a new nursery for the nourishment of domestic slavery, to sanction repudiation by silence, seem to be the principal objects of this tedious address. In striking contrast stands the speech of the King of the French in opening the chambers of legislation last week in Paris. Brief, stately, and royal—it touches upon but few topics, and those in a tone of decision unusual for kings' speeches. The chief point of interest in it is the apparently cordial reference it makes to England—a reference which would have been more welcome had it not been in connexion with the unhappy position of Spain. We have a governor's speech, too, from Canada, pro-roguing a parliament which he cannot manage—a speech which, with the incidents which led to it, tends greatly to confirm us in our opinion, that neither the parent kingdom nor the colony will find political repose until the last has been peacefully declared independent of the first.

Before we go on to more important domestic movements, we shall venture to touch upon those which come under the simple denomination of "foreign." Such, for instance, was Mr Ferrand's reception at Rochdale, where, in a large meeting of working men, he received a quietus from the hands of a chartist. Such, too, is the specimen of

justices' justice recently exhibited at Carlisle, upon which we have commented at length in another place, and such are the letters which have passed between the Irish lord chancellor, and the poor victim of magistrate O'Driscoll's tyranny, whose case we briefly noticed last week.

Ireland furnishes us with but scanty intelligence. The refusal of a licence to keep arms, on the ground of the political opinions of the applicant, so glaringly exhibited at Macroom, has called forth the condemnation of the Irish government, and accordingly, sudden conversions to sounder opinions have taken place on the bench. A movement, designated by lawyers "sharp practice," has been made in anticipation of the state trials. Our readers will see, by a reference to another column, that it is one which will have the effect of placing the traversers at disadvantage in regard to the striking of the special jury. As it seems utterly uncalled for, it may be taken as the determination of the crown officers to obtain a conviction if possible, and serves as further evidence that something besides justice is sought for in these prosecutions.

The League fund continues to swell. The mid-land counties, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby, have held their respective meetings, and made their contributions; and, in each case, the sums raised have been in the same proportion, with reference to those of last year, as have been those subscribed in other places.

We refer our readers, with much satisfaction, to the intelligence contained in our complete suffrage columns. It will be seen that Mr Sharman Crawford's plan is received with cordial satisfaction in every place where it is introduced—Hull, Halifax, Leeds, Bradford, and Edinburgh have now declared their resolution to take immediate steps in its support. Deputations from the Council, it is obvious, cannot be expected to visit every borough previously to the opening of the next session of parliament. We earnestly advise the friends of the movement to delay no longer their co-operation. Where they have no prospect of obtaining extrinsic aid, let them rely upon their own exertions, and upon the dignity of the cause to which they have set their hands. Let them take instant steps in furtherance of this plan of parliamentary agitation, for it is only by a general movement out of doors, that the smallest hope can be entertained of success in the House of Commons.

POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

It is pleasant to look back upon dangers passed—pleasant, and moreover instructive, to recount the lessons which actual experience has stored up in our minds. With what a glow of feeling do fellow travelers on a rough and stormy night, as soon as they have sheltered themselves from the war of elements, in some place of temporary sojourn, sit down and recall the perils of the way, and fortify their hearts against the morrow's journey. To the sailor, too, against whose fragile bark fury seemed to be let loose, and howling winds and foaming billows to have confederated with the forked lightning to effect her ruin—how delightful when moored in safety, though yet far off from his destined port, to run over in memory the horrors he has escaped, and to remember how his gallant ship behaved herself, how buoyantly she rode upon the restive ocean's back, and how promptly and submissively she obeyed the helm! Some such emotions as these fill our bosom in reference to the complete suffrage movement, as we enter upon a new year. Irresistibly, we are constrained to compare its present position with that which it occupied at the beginning of the year eighteen hundred and forty-three; and with faith strengthened by experience, and spirits made glad by the progress it has made, to look ahead with mingled desire and hope, in the confident conviction that the lapse of every year will bring it nearer to its triumph.

The morning of 1843 rose upon the complete suffrage cause, not lowering merely, but in storms. The lurid clouds which had rolled above it during the closing months of the preceding year had just broken. The convention had met at Birmingham, and its issue was then known to the whole kingdom. We had no serious misgivings as to the ultimate success of the movement, but assuredly the aspect of things, now just a twelve-month back, was sufficiently appalling. Oh! the shout of derision which greeted us from all quarters of the political world! the chorus of scorn chaunted in unison by whig and tory organs the whole empire over! the dumb horror of many who had just joined our ranks! the haste with which still greater numbers who were favourably inclined to do so shrunk back into the covert of whiggery, from which they had been tempted by previous fine weather to emerge! That was a bitter moment to most of us. Men of fixed principle, indeed, can always afford to brave the world's contumely; but even to them, to the best of them, it is up-hill work. And then to see sanguine hopes ruthlessly dashed to shivers—maxims, the truth of which you would fain exhibit to the doubting, and impress upon the listless, suddenly enveloped in a mist of

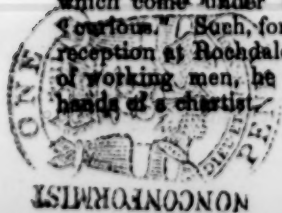
suspicion—fields upon which your labour has been bestowed, and which had begun to show along its furrows a faint tinge of the springing grain, inundated and left, to all appearance, desolate—these were no ordinary tests of faith and patience. But there was light even in darkness, and the blackest cloud was girt with a bow of promise. The then existing associations stood firm. The groans of contempt grew fainter, and at length ceased. An unusual calm followed. The truths which the selfishness of demagogues had tarnished were soon scoured into their pristine brightness by parliamentary insults and oppression. Quiet perseverance in prudent counsels at length removed the rubbish which the late disaster had left upon the ground. An electoral triumph of no inconsiderable importance revived the spirits of the timid. The storm, it was found, had purified the atmosphere—the flood had fattened the soil. Things returned to their usual course, and complete suffrage began again to grow.

In noting the advance of this interesting cause during the year which has just expired, we place little stress upon the multiplication of its avowed adherents. Accessions to our ranks are to be estimated by weight rather than by number. The progress of opinion in favour of the doctrine of equal political rights must be measured by the character of the converts it has gained. And, certainly, the retrospect in this direction is especially cheering. The division which took place at the Birmingham convention, when the first outburst of contempt had spent itself, brought about precisely what we had anticipated, a conviction in the minds of intelligent and sober friends of liberty, that the movement would pursue a peaceful and consistent course—that it had no sympathy with the lawless—that it would not shake hands with the violent—and that it would consent, at no hazard, to drag its supporters through the mire of practices which it professedly repudiated, at the heels of demagogues whose sole principle was self-aggrandisement. Soon, therefore, as the noise of separation was hushed, there came forth, to greet this new and peaceful embodiment of ancient political truth, no small number of men whose station, whose influence, whose sobriety of judgment, whose earnest and consistent piety, shed a pleasing lustre upon the cause. Amongst this class—and let it be borne in mind that this class practically determines success or failure—complete suffrage has made unusual progress of late. Soon, indeed, active aid given to the Union will involve no forfeiture, as once it did, of *caste*. When men of retiring habits—men of unquestionable prudence and unimpeachable integrity—men whose position in the religious world guarantees to large circles of confiding friends and admirers the safety, reasonableness, and exigent justice of the principles they avowedly espouse, step forth daily to wish God-speed to this movement; the indications of its eventual triumph are note-worthy and decisive—and ere long, it may be expected that conversions will be effected upon a much wider scale.

Nor must the different tone of the press be forgotten. Some of our co-labourers, it is true, have boldly stood the brunt of public opinion, and amid every change have preserved their consistency. Many, without repudiating doctrines which were once favoured with their advocacy, hopeless of successfully stemming the current, dropped for a time all mention of the suffrage. A few, of whom better things were hoped, stood foremost to heap ridicule upon what they had previously contemplated with dread. Time and events have wrought a change here also. Where silence once reigned undisputed, utterances of respect are becoming frequent. In many instances, former earnestness, apparently benumbed for a short period, has recovered its tone, and is putting forth its efforts. And, in no spirit of boasting, we may add, that in more than one case sneers of derision have been exchanged for smiles of congratulation. The weekly press being witness, opinion is rapidly making head—and the year gone by has been a year of healthy and substantial progression.

There is another encouraging feature in the present aspect of complete suffrage, to which it behoves us to advert. The recent agitation of Mr Sharman Crawford's plan of compelling a usurping parliamentary majority to attend to the grievances of the people, has met with the most hearty support of the working classes. In various places the leaders whom they had been accustomed to follow, and who, suspecting the sincerity of Mr Sturge and his associates, refused to co-operate with them, have yielded to conviction, and have honestly declared their resolution to join him in his laborious efforts. The old wound is healing. Suspicion is giving place to confidence. Hearts once separated are becoming one—and hands but recently hostile are linked in manly unison.

On the whole, then, the year opens auspiciously upon this momentous movement. That it has other troubles to surmount, and other storms to encounter, we do not doubt. We have implicit faith, however, that they will prove seasonable. It is by such methods Providence disciplines the masses, to profit by and enjoy their freedom when once they shall have obtained it. Disappoint-



ments sow the seeds of experience. Painful events are doing more to educate the people for the franchise, than could a numerous army of state-school-masters. The day, we trust, is not far distant, when the pernicious doctrines which monopolists, for their own selfish advantage, have grafted upon the minds of our artisans, will be extirpated ere the season for their fruit-bearing has come round—when the alienation of class from class, which the oligarchy has done its utmost to foment, will be effectually removed—and when all the advocates of national progress shall stand forth, an indivisible and irresistible army, to march down upon the citadel of exclusive privileges, and to establish upon the ruins thereof “a full, fair, and free representation.”

BRITISH RULE AND BRITISH COMMERCE.

SOME four thousand miles off there exists a vast tract of territory, consisting of forest and prairie, called Oregon. It is adjacent to the westernmost of the United States, and of Upper Canada, and stretches thence to the Pacific ocean. From the American President's message to Congress, it appears that the transatlantic republic puts in a claim to a larger slice of this land than British statesmen hold to be its rightful portion, and that, believing “possession to be nine points of the law,” American citizens have already located themselves on the disputed territory, and more are on their way thither, to carry with them the language, customs, and enterprise of their native country, and to be followed by its institutions and its laws.

America, through her president, swaggers—Great Britain, through her press, replies in minatory tones. Should circumstances favour—should the government of the United States be able to raise money, and the rulers of this kingdom get through their domestic infelicities—neither of which, by the bye, is probable—the dispute would most likely terminate in a war. Now, let us see what we could hope to gain by it.

On the other side of the Atlantic, we possess the two Canadas. What do we mean by possession? Simply this—that the same supreme power which bears rule over the British people bears rule also over the inhabitants of that extensive, but thinly-populated, district. The land is called ours, and, certes, it ought to be so, for we have paid dearly enough for it. Well! what is it worth to us? A governorship, a range of civil offices, a discontented people, a considerable army, differential duties, and no great amount of trade to boast of. Suppose it to be independent, what should we lose by it? Not our commerce, which, in all likelihood, as in the case of the United States, would increase. Not a jot of our power, for distant territories, requiring both naval and military force for their protection, divide and exhaust our strength. Not our wealth, for Canada has ever been a drain upon our resources. We should just lose that selfsame governorship, and all its appendages and ramifications, which, in truth, would be a sore loss to our aristocracy, but a great gain to our people.

Canada, however, such as it is, will not be properly occupied, nor will its resources be fully developed, for a hundred years to come. Its very vastness is its weakness. Scattered over an immense, and, for the most part, uncleared, area of land, its scanty population could not if they would, and would not if they could, extract from it the wealth which lies buried under the surface of its soil. They are too few—they are located at too great a distance from each other—they want good roads—they are deficient in the article of labour—and, as a necessary consequence, they cannot command a requisite amount of capital.

Now, far away behind this hitherto unsubdued territory, on the other side of the backbone of the American continent—the Rocky mountains—lies Oregon, to more than her share of which the United States government unscrupulously lays claim. Isn't it a pity that the two nations, allied by language, consanguinity, and interest, shouldn't go to war on such a subject? What end could we secure, in the event of Great Britain's success? Why, after a terrible waste of human life, and a large addition to an overwhelming debt, we should establish a right to give our own laws and institutions, which most of us believe to need very considerable improvement, to the civilised inhabitants of Oregon, when it shall happen to have any, and to take upon ourselves the expense of their protection. And this is about all!

If, on the contrary, the United States of America should win the prize, they would partially people the district immediately—and men and women, living under republican institutions, would be in as favourable position to trade with us, and, by means of commerce, to increase our national wealth, as though they had sworn allegiance to Victoria, and submitted unconditionally to British sway. But there would be no civil offices to give away—no military posts requiring occupation—no opportunity, by means of differential duties, for robbing the nation at large in order to enrich a few pet monopolies.

This is the sum of our interest in Oregon.

America wishes to filch it from us. If she persist, we shall have the whole aristocratic press, tory and whig, using their utmost efforts to raise amongst us a war-cry. Will the people be deluded by it? We opine not. No! Not this time! *Nous avons changé tout cela.*

MILITARY IDEAS OF JUSTICE.

OUR last week's number contained a vivid illustration of even-handed justice, as administered in Ireland, to which the Lord Chancellor has since added some finishing strokes with his own pencil. We are able this week to present to our readers a fellow-picture on the same subject, the scene of which is laid in the north of England. The two constitute a pair of spirited vignettes, and would appropriately adorn the title-page of a history of “The Great Unpaid.” They give us a key to the whole volume—set our thoughts in *limine* at the right pitch—and prepare us for all that, supposing the history to be written, would naturally follow.

A coach drives into Carlisle from Scotland; a keen-eyed exciseman spies a box upon its roof, which, upon being opened, contains a tin case of whiskey. The coachman is arrested and locked up. The bench meets on the morrow, but neither prosecutors, witnesses, nor defendants are forthcoming. One of the magistrates, Major Wilde, goes to an inn, summons the prisoner before him, dispenses with all the formalities of justice—such as inquiry, testimony, and law—asks no questions, receives no depositions, cites no authorities, but coolly condemns the poor coachman to pay a fine of £25, or, in default of payment, to suffer imprisonment for three months. The man's attorney is made acquainted with this cursory mode of administering justice—requests a sight of the depositions upon which the warrant of commitment was made out, and finds that none were taken—demands his liberation, and obtains it on a promise to produce his client the next day—fulfils his promise, and attends the court with satisfactory proof of the entire innocence of his victim. Well, Major Wilde says he will not re-open the case—he *settled* it the day before; and actually sends the man back to gaol for three months, although proof was proffered of his utter ignorance of the contents of the box when put upon the roof of the coach which he drove.

Major Wilde's practice is somewhat of the sharpest, and smacks more strongly of the army than of the bench. It is not to be supposed that the affair will be suffered to rest where it does. The injured party in this, as in the Irish case, will probably seek redress at the hands of government; and, possibly, in the one instance as well as in the other, will be told that he has a remedy in an action at law—a remedy which a poor man, unless well backed, can no more command than he can stay the course of the sun, and which, when like Arthur O'Neill, he can apply, turns out to be anything but a substantial amendment.

We should not have noticed this case, but for the moral it contains. The unrepresented poor are, in this land of boasted freedom, completely at the mercy of the represented rich, whether in legislation, or in the administration of law. This Carlisle commitment without a hearing is no such isolated a blunder as it appears. The coachman had sufficient means to employ an attorney, and hence the resistance made to the half-pay despot, and the publicity given to his proceedings. But every one who knows the rural districts, knows that equally flagrant illegalities are constantly perpetrated upon defenceless victims by “The Great Unpaid.” “Justices' justice” has become a by-word. Half-pay officers, clergymen, and country squires, vested with magisterial authority, and practically irresponsible, are, when the poor are concerned, the administrators of their own prejudices, passions, and caprice, far more than of the laws of the realm. What chance has a toil-worn labourer of making good the justest claim against a monied and respectable oppressor? What shield of defence does our system of magistracy place between needy innocence and wealthy injustice—between the weakness of destitution and the strength of property and station? In the majority of instances, literally, none. In Great Britain laws are made and administered for the advantage of the rich. Against property, man, simply as such, has no redress. Would it be thus if man were represented in the legislature instead of property? We trow, not.

EARL GREY.—Letters were received in town on Monday, which state that Lord Grey had enjoyed sleep during several hours of the night for some nights past. The noble lord had also suffered less pain lately, and his pulse and appetite were quite good. His medical attendants are of opinion that the malady with which his lordship is afflicted is running its course in the manner best calculated to encourage the strongest hopes of a favourable termination. There is still, however, danger; and, perhaps, considerable cause for the anxiety of his friends.

It is rumoured that previously to the opening of parliament the whig party intend holding a meeting at the house of Earl Spencer—the place where the celebrated “Lichfield house compact” was concocted.

MEETING OF THE CABINET.—We understand that within a few days the whole of the members of the Cabinet will repair to the metropolis from their respective country seats. The object of this early meeting of the leading members of the government is confidently said to be in reference to affairs in Ireland. There is not the slightest doubt that there exists some foundation for such statement, as, at the close of the last week, circulars from the First Lord of the treasury were forwarded from Downing street to the Duke of Buccleuch, at Dalkeith palace, Duke of Wellington, &c. Sir Robert Peel, who has been passing the Christmas at Drayton manor, surrounded by a select party of friends, is fully expected in town by Friday next.—*Chronicle.*

There is a rumour current in Westminster hall, that the government wish to make an additional common law court, and to constitute a court of appeal in criminal cases.—*Times.*

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LORDS.—We are enabled to state that the Duke of Wellington will, in the approaching parliament, as in the last, act as the leader of the Upper House, and that no intention exists, or has ever existed, of anticipating Lord Stanley's elevation to the peerage by the ordinary process of succession.—*Times.*

RECALL OF EARL DE GREY.—We are able to contradict, in the most distinct and positive terms, the statement put forward by the *Globe* and *Morning Chronicle*, that the cabinet has resolved upon the recall of Earl De Grey from the viceroyalty of Ireland. There is not one word of truth in the story, or even a shadow of foundation for it.—*Standard.*

THE NEW GOLD COINAGE.—CAUTION.—On Monday the Queen's proclamation respecting light and defaced coin came into operation. It directs that from that day light and defaced gold coin will no longer be a legal tender, and it gives power to the person to whom it may be offered, to slant and cut it so that it may never be again circulated. As a great quantity of the coin will probably be brought out, persons cannot be too careful in the gold coinage they take, as the loss will fall entirely on themselves.

The Earl of Hardwick has contradicted a paragraph, originally inserted in a provincial journal, to the effect that, at a late rent-day dinner, he had expressed his opinion that free trade principles would ultimately triumph, but that such a result would not be so disastrous as generally anticipated. His lordship states that he uttered no such sentiment.

“THE ROYAL BOUNTY.”—On Monday morning the Queen's and Prince Albert's new year's gifts to the poor, consisting of meat, bread, plum pudding, blankets, and tickets for ale, potatoes, and coals, were distributed at the royal mews, Windsor, in presence of her Majesty and the Prince. The following is a list of the articles, and their respective quantities, which were given away:—180 pairs of ten-quarter blankets, weighing upwards of 1,500lb.; 770lb. of plum pudding; 1,800lb. of the best beef; 1,000lb. of bread; 186 cwt of coals; 172 pecks of potatoes; 692 pints of the best ale. One hundred and eighty families received each a pair of excellently serviceable blankets. The provisions were distributed amongst 186 families, including 591 children, being, upon an average, upwards of three children in each family. On the Saturday preceding Christmas day her Majesty caused to be given to upwards of 100 families (more than 500 persons) a liberal supply of meat, bread, ale, pudding, and potatoes, for their Christmas dinners, and also to each family 2 cwt of coals.

The *Morning Post* states that Count Nesselrode, who arrived in London last week, is the bearer of the Emperor Nicholas's ratifications of all the propositions made by Prince Oettingen Wallerstein during his mission to England, respecting the final settlement of the affairs of Greece. “The Emperor not only consents, but is anxious, that a constitution upon the most liberal principles should be secured to the Greeks.”

BAPTISED ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.—On the motion of Mr Stuart Wortley, a return was ordered by the House of Commons in March last, “of all illegitimate children whose baptisms were registered by the clergymen in the several parishes of Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Surrey, and Herefordshire, during the years 1831, 1832, and 1833, and during the years 1839, 1840, and 1841.” The return shows a great number of illegitimate children who have been baptised in the years mentioned, and by analogy there are numerous persons in the same counties who are likewise illegitimate; but the erection of churches, and the recent act for providing for the spiritual destitution in populous parishes, will, it is hoped, be used to call forth the life they have received in the baptismal covenant, and be the means of unfolding into active exercise the gift bestowed upon them. It appears that in the county of Lancaster the number registered in 1831 was 1,739; in 1832, 1,833; and in 1833, 1,818; making a total of 5,390. In the other three years there were registered by clergymen in baptism—1,988 in 1839, 2,045 in 1840, and 2,129 in 1841, making a total in the period of 6,172, being nearly 1,000 over the former period. The West Riding of Yorkshire shows 3,382 in the first three years, and 3,082 in the second three years. In the county of Norfolk the numbers in the first mentioned years were 2,028, and in the second 2,422. In Surrey, 959 were baptised in the first period, and 1,066 in the second. In Hereford there were 720 in 1831, 1832, and 1833, and in the second three years 681. The return further states the numbers in the various parishes, and the information afforded incontestably shows the necessity for the exertions of those intrusted with spiritual instruction, whilst their temporal affairs should not be neglected by others.—*Times.*

General News.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.

Wednesday was the day fixed for the opening of the French legislature. No less than 20,000 troops were under arms. The quay along which the procession moved was kept entirely clear of the crowd, and as there are no houses on the road between the Tuileries and the chamber of Deputies, his Majesty was removed to a very safe distance from his loyal subjects. Besides the 20,000 troops formed in double line along the whole route from the palace to the chambers, there were on guard twenty companies of the municipal guard and of town officers stationed at the most exposed points; and about 1,500 police-officers ranged between the two ranks of soldiers. The following is the speech delivered by his Majesty from the throne:—

"Gentlemen of the Chamber of Peers and Deputies—
"The good harmony between the powers of the state, and the loyal support you have afforded to my government, have yielded their fruit. Amidst the order maintained without effort, and under the sway of the laws, France displays with confidence her fertile activity. The situation of all classes of citizens is improving and advancing. The effects of this prosperity will enable us to restore between the expenses and the revenue of the state, in the law of finance which will shortly be presented to you, a justly desired equilibrium.

"We can enjoy with security these blessings of peace, for it was never better secured. Our relations with all powers are pacific and friendly.

"Serious events have occurred in Spain and in Greece. Queen Isabella II., summoned so young to the cares of state, is at this moment the object of all my solicitude, and of my most affectionate interest. I hope that the issue of these events will be most favourable to two nations friendly to France; and that in Greece, as well as in Spain, monarchy will strengthen itself by the mutual respect for the rights of the throne and the public liberties. The sincere friendship which unites me to the Queen of Great Britain, and the cordial understanding existing between my government and hers, confirm me in that confidence.

"I have concluded with the King of Sardinia and the republics of the Equator and Venezuela, treaties of commerce, and I am pursuing, with other states in several parts of the world, negotiations which, whilst maintaining our national labour in the security which it is entitled to, will open new paths to its intelligence and activity. I have the satisfaction of seeing the circle of my family enlarged by the marriage of my son, the Prince de Joinville, with the Princess Francesca, the sister of the Emperor of the Brazils and of the Queen of Portugal. This union, by ensuring the happiness of my son, adds one consolation more to those which God has reserved to me.

"Our domination in Algeria will soon be universal and tranquil. Under the command of experienced leaders, among whom I am proud to reckon one of my sons, our brave soldiers unite with admirable constancy the fatigues of war and the labours of peace.

"The necessary measures for the execution of the general system of railroads, and for various enterprises of national utility, will be submitted to your deliberations. A bill relative to secondary instruction will satisfy the wish of the charter for the freedom of instruction, by maintaining the authority and action of the state over public education.

"I behold, gentlemen, with deep gratitude to Providence, the state of honourable peace and of increasing prosperity which our country enjoys. Always guided by our devotedness and our fidelity to France, I and mine have never had any other ambition than that of serving her well. It is the assurance of accomplishing that duty which has given me strength through the trials of my life, and which will, to its end, be my consolation and my firmest support."

The French Chamber of Deputies assembled on Thursday, to elect its officers. Of the eighteen chairmen and secretaries elected by the nine standing committees, ten were ministerial, and eight oppositionist. The candidates for the presidency obtained the following numbers on the first ballot: Sauzet, 157; O'Dillon Barrot, 91; Dupin, 65; Dupont de l'Eure, 5; Dufaure, 1. Neither having obtained an "absolute majority" (165), a new ballot became necessary. M. Sauzet was ultimately elected president. He obtained 170 votes out of 306; M. Dupin had 82 votes; the remainder, with the exception of a few, were given for M. O'Dillon Barrot. M. Dufaure had one vote; M. Dupont five.

On Friday, the Chamber of Deputies proceeded to the election of the four vice-presidents of the Chamber. The same members were chosen who were vice-presidents during last session. The names are MM. Bignon Debelleye, Lepelletier, d'Aulnay, and Salvandy. They all belong to the conservative party, and their election is, therefore, considered, by their organs, a further triumph to the ministry.

The Royal court of Paris decided, on Wednesday, that an East India slave, as well as all other slaves, recovered their liberty the moment they set their foot on the territory of France.

The *Censeur de Lyons* states that the Legitimist party had succeeded in exciting such a feeling in favour of the Duc de Bordeaux among the population of several districts in the South of France, that, between Avignon and Orange, the inscription of "Henry V., or Death!" was written on many of the houses of the villages situate along the road.

SPAIN.

Madrid papers and letters of the 21st contain the account of a daring outrage perpetrated by Narvaez's officers on the office and people of the *Eco del Comercio*. This print had hinted that pregnancy was the cause of Maria Christina's not proceeding immediately to Spain. They then proceeded to another office, that of the *Sarantala*, where they in the same way destroyed everything, and were about to follow out their brutality at a third office, when they were

fortunately stopped by the political chief of Madrid, with the assistance of the municipal authorities. These outrages created so great a sensation in Madrid, as to have suspended for a time the interest of the Olozaga affair; and that interest has been greatly increased by the evident determination of the government to screen the culprits from punishment.

A correspondent, to whom we are indebted for much information as to the state of affairs in Spain (says the *Chronicle*), assures us that the neighbourhood of Madrid is one immense camp; that the troops are exercised daily, not as Spanish soldiers usually are, but for civil warfare; and that the great object is to qualify them to use the bayonet well. At the present moment it is a question with the government whether there should not be a further increase of the army to the amount of 25,000 men.

Senor Olozaga has taken refuge in Portugal, having entered Castello Branco on the 19th inst. The authorities immediately communicated with the Lisbon government, who despatched orders for his reception with the attention due to his exalted rank.

The last accounts from Barcelona state that the late elections in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands have added eighteen to the ministerial party in the Cortes.

It is thought Figueras will not stand out beyond the 24th. On the 18th a conference was held between Amettler and the Count de Reus. The *Imparcial* states that the new Captain-general was preparing to go to Figueras.

AMERICA.

The packet ship, Independence, arrived at Liverpool on Thursday, with the President's message to the United States Congress. It is, as usual, of enormous length. The following is a brief summary of its contents:—

The three subjects most interesting to this country which are noticed in it are, the recent commercial treaty, the Oregon territory, and the indemnity for the detention of American vessels. The first, it is declared, "has tended greatly to increase the good understanding which a reciprocity of interest is calculated to encourage." Of the second, it is said that propositions for its final adjustment made by the United States have been rejected by the British Government; and that "while nothing will be done to compromise the rights or honour of the United States, every proper expedient will be resorted to, to bring the negotiation to a speedy and happy conclusion." At the same time, it is suggested that military posts be established, to protect those American citizens who have settled in the disputed territory. With respect to the third, the President informs the House, that in several cases of American vessels detained as slavers by British cruisers off the coast of Africa, reparation has been promised; in a few, that full satisfaction has been allowed.

The negotiation of a commercial treaty with the German States Union, comprising 27,000,000 of people, is in progress. The message sketches the eight years' unsuccessful war which Mexico has waged against Texas, and endeavours to show that it may be necessary for the United States to end the war in some effectual manner. The Treasury receipts for the fiscal year ending July 1 are stated at 18,000,000 dollars; the expenditure, exclusive of public debt, at 23,000,000 dollars. There are out-standing treasury notes to the amount of 4,600,000 dollars. The loan of 1841, of over 5,500,000 dollars, falls due, Jan. 1, 1845; and, unless the resources be increased, a deficiency is apprehended at the close of 1845 of above 4,000,000 dollars. The message states that the financial and business condition of the country has greatly improved. The public lands the President regards as the fountain of the public credit; and, by preserving the credit of the general government untarnished, he thinks that the States will be best supported. In regard to the tariff, the message intimates, that in a subject so intimately connected with all the great interests of the country, permanency and stability of legislation are much to be desired. Mr Tyler repeats his recommendation to issue treasury notes, of denominations not less than five dollars, and not more than one hundred dollars, to be employed in paying the obligations of government in lieu of gold and silver, at the option of the public creditor, to an amount not exceeding 15,000,000 dollars. The war expenses had been reduced, and the navy is commended to attention, and Congress advised to reimburse the losses sustained by the officers and crew of the steam-ship Missouri. The message then concludes by expressing a desire "to leave the country prosperous, and its institutions unimpaired."

The choice of speaker fell upon Mr J. W. Jones Denn, of Virginia, and that of printer upon Gales Leader. Mr Merrick gave notice on the 5th, that he would, at the earliest possible day, ask leave to introduce a bill altering and reducing the rates of postage, and regulating the mails. The message of the Governor of Virginia to the Legislature of that state takes high ground against repudiation.

The *Times* correspondent says, "The great contest in November next for the presidency will be assuredly between Henry Clay, of Kentucky, whig, and Martin Van Buren, of New York, democrat. All other aspirants are as dust in the balance."

The Navy, Treasury, and Postmaster-General's reports had been published. The whole are very lengthy. In the Treasury report it is recommended, as one means of meeting the deficiency apprehended in the revenue, to impose a duty of 2 cents per pound on coffee imported from the countries of its production, or 3 cents from Europe. Also, a duty of 5 cents per pound on tea costing not more than 25 cents; over 25 cents and not exceeding 35 cents, 7 cents per pound, and so on with the higher grades.

CANADA.

The steam-ship Acadia brings news from Halifax to the 19th ult. The news by this arrival possess no striking feature, if we except the doings in Canada, where Sir Charles Metcalfe has experienced the hostility of the house of assembly for dismissing the Lafontaine ministry. By a vote of forty-five to twenty-four, the house expressed its sympathy for the

ex-ministers, although Sir Charles declared that their dismissal was owing to the pertinacity with which they insisted upon conditions relative to official appointments at variance with "executive prerogatives." He will not be able to go on with the present assembly—that seems clear; and whether a new house would be more pliant, is very problematical. The "responsible government" theory has taken a strong hold of the French Canadian party, and, as a natural consequence, their strength will be directed against Sir Charles Metcalfe's government, which has discarded it.

It is stated that his Excellency the governor-general, notwithstanding the difficulties in which he is involved, continues firm in his determination not to recall any member of the late government to his council.

IMMIGRANTS NOT REQUIRED.—It is supposed from inquiries made, that nearly a fourth of the labouring population of this parish (Falmouth) is unemployed, notwithstanding labour is solicited at one shilling per day. In the parishes of St James, St Ann, Hanover, and St Mary, we are given to understand, labour is still more scarce. With these facts before us, with the certainty, that for want of capital, many properties must soon be abandoned, and with a population fast increasing, is it not almost madness to expend the money of the colony upon immigration purposes?—*Baptist Herald* (Jamaica).

TIGERS.—We have to report three deaths from tigers, in the immediate vicinity of cultivated lands. The Chinese who live in the jungle never think of giving information of the ravages committed by tigers. Feelings of superstition may perhaps be a cause of this; we have been informed that they believe that when a person is killed by a tiger his "hantu," or ghost, becomes a slave to the beast, and attends upon it; that the spirit acts the part of a jackal as it were, and leads him to his prey; and so thoroughly subservient does the poor ghost become to his tigerish master, that he often brings the tiger to the presence of his wife and children, and calmly sees them devoured before his ghostly face. The old "pyongs," or umbrellas, which may often be seen stuck on the tops of newly made graves, are intended to mark the spot where a tiger-slain body is deposited. We are informed that in one district between Bukit Timah and the Old Straits, six persons on an average are every month carried off from the Gambier plantations, and that not one of these cases is ever made known to the authorities.—*Singapore Free Press*.

TAHITI.—Accounts from Sydney, to the 15th of August, represent Queen Pomare, of Tahiti, to have placed herself under the protection of the English. Commodore Nicholas, of the *Vindictive*, had inspired her with much confidence, and by his direction various improvements had been made in the principal town, Papieti. Heavy duties have been imposed on all intoxicating drinks. The French admiral had not arrived at the date of these accounts, but was expected every day.

The French government are pushing their Atlantic steamers towards completion at a rapid rate, for the purpose of an early start in the spring. Four of them will be ready to leave Havre when the Great Western and Great Britain leave Liverpool. Eleven steam ships will, therefore, be employed in 1844, in running from Liverpool and Havre to New York.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION.—MUNICH, DEC. 19.—The recent mission of Prince Von Oettingen Wallerstein has been crowned with the best success, particularly in respect to the money question—not the least important part of the mission. It is understood that the cabinets of London and Paris have agreed to allow the Greek government the space of five years for the payment of its outstanding debt. Whether the Russian government will grant the like indulgence is not yet positively known.—*Wurtzburger Zeitung*.

THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA.—The project for forming a canal to unite the Pacific with the Atlantic ocean has recently attracted a good deal of attention, not only here but in France, and various statements have been in circulation as to parties of high standing being disposed to undertake the important work. Our French contemporaries state that private letters received from Mexico allude to an order given by Santa Anna to form a prison for 300 malefactors who are to be employed in the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Should this prove correct, the president will so far have shown himself to be in advance of his neighbours. It is almost impossible to estimate the eventual result of such a new channel of communication to the western coast of North and South America, and not the least interesting feature would doubtless be the additional value imparted to the Oregon territory.—*Globe*.

SUTTEE.—The following horrible case is from the *Madras Athenaeum*:—"A Brahmin died on the 19th, leaving a young wife, aged 17, and other relatives, but no children. On the morning of the 20th, the woman declared her intention of sacrificing herself upon the funeral pile of her husband, and a wealthy native having offered to defray the expenses, preparations were made on a grand scale in a secluded spot at about two miles from Lashkur. A spot was chosen in the dry bed of a nullah, and four large posts eight feet high were fixed, on which a sort of scaffold of dry wood was formed, and underneath it were layers of the driest wood and cording sundried, and other inflammable materials, so as to burn briskly when set fire to. The preparations were completed about 12 o'clock, soon after which the procession set out. One of the deceased's relatives went first, bearing a small vessel containing fire, and was followed by the women and others of the family, and in the rear came the corpse borne by five men on a charpoy. Considering the preparations which

had been made, comparatively few natives followed the procession, which moved at a slow pace. On reaching the pile, the sacrifice appeared to view the preparations made, with a look of exultation, and took her seat by the dead body, which had been laid on the ground at a little distance, where she remained upwards of two hours, surrounded by a host of Brahmins of both sexes, performing numerous ceremonies. When the body of her husband was taken up, and placed on the scaffold, over which a considerable quantity of dry straw was strewn, and oil and ghee poured, the woman having walked thrice round the pile, mounted it apparently with some reluctance by clambering up on the outside, amidst the shouts of the spectators. She took her seat on the right, and after a short ceremony, putting her arm under the neck of the corpse, with much composure stretched herself beside the body, adjusting the hair of her head and her clothes. A considerable quantity of wood was now put over what I may call the two bodies, when a tremendous shout of applause rent the air, with clapping of hands and other tokens of satisfaction. About a quarter of an hour was now spent in making requisite preparations, when torches were applied to different parts of the pile. No sooner did the flame arise than the unfortunate victim, unable to endure the suffocation and pain, struggled vigorously to extricate herself from the pile, and as the flames waxed more fierce her exertions became almost supernatural, till at last with a most tremendous spring she landed on her feet about ten paces from the pile, and entreated the bystanders to save her from what she felt was too great a trial. The Brahmins, however, insisted on her re-mounting the pile and undergoing what was her own choice. She refused, and was instantly cut down with a sword and thrown upon the flaming pile. It so happened that several Mussulmans of the Alleegole were present, and, abhorring the inhuman acts of the Brahmins, commenced upbraiding them; words and abuse then ensued, till the Moslems, enraged, drew their swords, cut down a Hoozorah and wounded several. The multitude of spectators soon dispersed, and thus was finished a ceremony at which every feeling mind must revolt with disgust. Many such instances however occur, and force of stimulating drugs are always had recourse to to compel the unfortunate victim to undergo the cruel sacrifice."

The *Memorial Bordelais* states that not far from St Sever there is living an old military man, who has a false leg and a false arm, both usable by means of springs, a glass eye, and complete set of false teeth, a nose of silver, covered with a substance perfectly resembling flesh, and a silver plate replacing part of the skull. He walks about with a martial air, bearing on his breast the cross of the legion of honour, won, together with his mutilations, by his deeds of arms, in the campaigns of Egypt, Italy, and Russia; at Friedland, Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, and Waterloo; and which was conferred upon him by the hands of Napoleon, on the 2nd of May, 1813, on the field of the battle of Lutzen.

The *National* publishes a letter from Rome, announcing that the utmost distress prevails in that city. Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures are in a deplorable state, and the only income derived by the shopkeepers is from strangers.

EARTHQUAKE IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.—A letter written in Guernsey, on Christmas day, mentions an alarming earthquake, on Friday last:—About ten minutes to four o'clock in the afternoon, there were two violent shocks, so terrible that people were shaken in their chairs, hearing at the same time a loud rumbling noise in the earth. Imagine my horror, when I got into the High street, to find it full of people, all looking up at their houses, expecting them to fall with the next shock. The general opinion here is, that there has been some dreadful earthquake in France, and that the shock we had was the effect of it. It appears from the *Guernsey Star* of Thursday last, that the shock had also been experienced in Jersey and the island of Alderney nearly at the same time. It had not been felt on the French coast.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

NEW YEAR'S EVE. — WESLEYAN MEETING.—On Sunday evening a meeting of Wesleyan Methodists was held at Great Queen street chapel, according to annual custom, for the purpose of commemorating the entrance upon the new year by devotional exercises. The circumstance of new year's eve falling upon a Sunday, combined with the general enthusiasm of the Wesleyan body, drew together an immense assemblage, and long before ten o'clock, the hour appointed for the meeting, the spacious chapel was densely crowded, and many persons were removed in a fainting state, on account of the oppressive heat. The services were conducted by the following ministers—Messrs. Wilcox, Stamp, Jenkins, Fowler, Lambert, &c. A few minutes before twelve o'clock, one of the ministers requested that the meeting would engage in pious prayer, and a deep silence consequently prevailed until after twelve, during which time the new year commenced its course. The blessing was then pronounced, and the congregation dispersed. The service, instituted by John Wesley, was a most solemn one, and was deeply affecting. At Hackney, the president of the conference and Mr G. Cubitt conducted the proceedings. Similar services were also performed at Hinde street, Peter street, Sloane street, and Bayswater chapels, and generally throughout the country. It was stated that, during the last two years, the numbers connected with the Wesleyan body had greatly increased, the number of circuits in London alone being eight, although from want of funds their mis-

sionary operations have been greatly crippled, and some of their promising stations in various parts of the world abandoned.

CHRISTMAS SOBRIETY.—Whether Father Mathew or the arrangements of the police commissioners are to be praised is a question; but it is certain that the charges for drunkenness have diminished in number both last Christmas and now, the number of drunken persons brought to Marlborough police court on Tuesday being fewer than a dozen, of whom only two were fined, and those for very violent assaults on the police. A few years since the average number of such cases was 100.

THREATENING TO SHOOT THE QUEEN.—At Clerkenwell police office, on Thursday, John Anderson, a sickly middle-aged Irishman, was charged with threatening to shoot the Queen. He voluntarily went, that morning, to George street police station, and surrendered himself, saying that he did so because he intended to "injure the Queen." Being asked how?—he answered, "to shoot her." To Mr Greenwood, the magistrate, he admitted the charge; and, complaining of pain in his head, supposed that he was "labouring under some delusion." Mr Greenwood ordered him to be sent to Coldbath Fields prison for the night. On Friday he was re-examined before Mr Combe. He stated that he came originally from Roscommon, and that his father had gone to America. He had been a weaver and a gardener; and he had lived at Liverpool, which he left on Friday, and came to London. On Saturday, "labouring under some delusion," he went by coach to Chichester, where he staid till Wednesday. Since his arrest, he had been taken to Middlesex hospital, where the medical gentlemen were of opinion that he was not insane, though they saw a "vacancy" about him. Dr Wakefield, physician to the house of correction, and Dr Taylor, saw no ground for thinking him insane. On his way to the house of correction, he told the policeman who took him, that his friends were in America, and that his object was to get there. Anderson denied this, and insisted that his head was affected, and that he had had fits. Mr Combe thought that he had trumped up the story for the purpose of getting to America; he therefore held the man to bail for one month, with two sureties of £20 each; and in default committed him to the house of correction.

EMPLOYMENT FOR THE POOR.—The great pressure of want on the poor in London, and the accumulated mud of the streets, have suggested plans for the relief of the destitute by employing a whole army of scavengers. Such a plan was promulgated by the Lord Mayor on Friday at the Mansionhouse; reviving a proposition made in December 1842. The project is this. There are about 250,000 houses in London: it is assumed that voluntary contributions could be obtained at each house, from the lowest sum to £1 or more, and averaging 2s. 6d.; which would produce £31,250: £29,250 would employ 5,000 men for the thirteen weeks of the worst months in the year, at 9s. a week, to clean the streets; or £39,600 might perhaps be raised, to employ 4,000 men for the five months ending April 1st. The Lord Mayor favours the project, and expects in a few days to receive a deputation on the subject.

PAUPER COFFINS.—At a meeting of the ratepayers of St Leonard's, Shoreditch, held a few days since, for the purpose of making a rate for the poor, the vestry clerk, when reading over the various items of expenditure, mentioned a charge of £11 7s. for coffins for paupers buried from the workhouse. Mr Thomas, referring to the undertaker's account, read the following singular charges:—"To four coffins, 7d. each, 2s. 6d." "To four coffins, at 10d. each." "To three coffins, at 15d. each." A parishioner observed that these were for pauper children. Mr Thomas read on a long list of charges, the highest price put down for adults being 5s. 6d. These coffins were not fit to put a dog in, but the object was that the bodies should decompose quickly, as the pauper burial ground was so crowded as to become a perfect nuisance. Mr Solomon admitted that the coffins were not fit to put a human body into, but the trustees were bound to accept the lowest contract. Dr Purland: That may be, but the specimen coffin shown at the workhouse regulates the charge. The poor are exposed to every conceivable indignity. I have myself seen a grave left open all night, ready to receive more bodies next day. The state of the burial ground is quite disgraceful and dangerous. Mr Barton complained that the clergyman performed the burial service over three or four bodies at the same time, charging a separate fee for each. The churchwarden admitted that there was too much reason to complain of the interment of paupers. It was ultimately resolved that the subject be brought forward at the next vestry.

PROVINCIAL.

EARLY HOURS IN DRAPERS' SHOPS.—We perceive with pleasure, that a considerable majority of the more influential drapers in our town, have agreed to shut their shops at seven o'clock during the winter months, and at eight during the summer.—*Bradford Observer.*

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE FUND.—The League fund progresses steadily and satisfactorily. Mr Cobden, M.P., Col. Thompson, and Mr R. R. R. Moore, have attended as a deputation from the League at three great meetings in the midland counties during the week. Whilst their presence at these demonstrations has enabled them again to scatter broadcast among the people right sentiments and correct opinions, the result in a pecuniary point of view shows that former exertions have not been lost. At Nottingham, on Tuesday evening, the free trade festival was held in the Exchange rooms, when the chair was taken by Charles Paget, Esq., of Rud-

dington, and the proceedings were taken part in by the mayor, by several aldermen and councillors, and after addresses from the deputation 580l. was subscribed to the funds of the League. On Wednesday night a meeting was held at the Theatre royal, Leicester, presided over by E. Paget, Esq., late M.P. for the county, and addressed by the deputation, the mayor, Mr Biggs, and other influential gentlemen, when 800l. was subscribed. On Thursday night the deputation were at Derby, where their presence was hailed with applause by a large and influential audience, in the Mechanics' institution, Mr Compton, an extensive landowner, occupying the chair. Messrs Strutt headed the subscription with a contribution of 500l., an announcement which was received with loud cheers, and the amount finally realised at this meeting was 965l. On Wednesday evening Mr Prentice attended a meeting at Dewsbury, at which 105l. was subscribed, exactly three times the amount of last year's contribution.—*Manchester Times.*

(The Leicester subscription is now upwards of 1,000l.)

THE CORN LAWS.—On Saturday last (says the *Sunderland Herald*) an additional quantity of corn was taken out of bonded-warehouses in Sunderland, and destroyed, having (by being kept too long) become unfit for human food! Had the corn-laws been repealed, this corn would have been brought into the market, and purchased by some of our fellow townsmen, who are now on the borders of starvation. And yet there are men, who profess and call themselves Christians and friends of the poor, who advocate a law which permits—nay compels—the wilful destruction of food in a country where tens of thousands are lacking bread!

INCENDIARISM.—We regret to find that the provincial papers still abound in reports of fires in various parts of the country that have been the work of incendiaries.

FIRES AT LIVERPOOL.—Serious ravages were committed by fire at Liverpool, on Wednesday and Thursday. On Wednesday evening, the ship *Meg Meldon*, in the Waterloo dock, took fire, it is supposed from spontaneous combustion among some wet hemp; and it was necessary to scuttle the vessel. The cargo was valued at 10,000l. or 15,000l. Next morning, the large sugar refinery of Sir Thomas Brancker, a pile of buildings between Harrington street and Mathew street, was destroyed. By great exertions the flames were prevented from spreading to other property; but the loss is immense: the stock of sugar alone is valued at 50,000l. or 60,000l. A large amount will be covered by the insurance. The whole details of this frightful catastrophe are harrowing and afflictive. From the quantity of water thrown on the building, the streets, especially inside the yard, were completely deluged with a liquid resembling thin molasses, and in some places the sugar was seen in a crusted or toffee state. Considerable quantities of the former were collected in barrels. Molten lead ran from the roofs down the sides of the buildings, and even iron itself was melted by the intense heat. Several lives were lost; the calculations varying between five and nine. The over-heating of some stove flues is guessed to be the cause of the fire.

EDUCATION AT BIRMINGHAM.—On Christmas-day, a meeting of the church and congregation assembled in Carr's lane, Birmingham, was convened by their pastor, Mr J. A. James, who took the chair on the occasion, to enter into a subscription for the establishment of daily schools, and the erection of suitable buildings. The utmost cordiality and unanimity prevailed, and a delightful spirit of liberality was evinced. Before the meeting closed, nearly fourteen hundred pounds were subscribed by the persons present; and many of the congregation were, of course, absent, and have yet to be called upon. This sum is in addition to more than one thousand pounds already laid out in the purchase of buildings for sites. It is intended to establish two infant schools, one daily school for boys, and another for girls, and to connect good evening schools with both the latter.

JUSTICES' JUSTICE.—At Carlisle, on Sunday, the 17th instant, the officers of excise discovered a large box among the luggage of a stage coach, directed "Mrs McGregor, London:" it was found to contain whiskey, and the exciseman seized not only the case but also the coach that bore it, and the coachman. The coach was bailed out of custody by its owners, under a penalty-bond for £200: the coachman was detained all night. On Monday, a lawyer attended at the court house, with witnesses to prove that the coachman had received the box in the usual course of business, and had no knowledge of its contents; but there was no accuser. The single magistrate that appeared on the bench, having nothing to do, retired. Meanwhile, however, another magistrate, Major Wilde, held a court elsewhere, at the Lion and Lamb public house. The coachman's forces being divided by that Buonapartean blow, he asked to be allowed to send for his lawyer and witnesses. Not at all; the magistrate told him that he should be treated leniently, and sentenced him to pay a fine of £25, or to be imprisoned for three months, with hard labour! Major Wilde's trouble did not end there; the lawyer subsequently appeared, and asked for a copy of "the depositions;" but of course he could not have them, for there were no depositions, but only the commitment, filled up by the exciseman, and signed by the Major! The lawyer protested against the illegality of the proceeding, and demanded that the man should be set at liberty; whereupon the Major, who seems to have a most accommodating notion of law, wrote this order, and sent it to the prison—"Liberate the prisoner Thomas Beatty, committed by me this day; he having to ap-

pear before me to-morrow at twelve o'clock, in the magistrate's office, Court house, Carlisle." Next day, Beatty effected a junction of his forces at the court house; the accuser was there, and Major Wilde with two other magistrates. *Cui bono?* When Beatty's lawyer presented himself before the bench, Major Wilde exclaimed—"That case was finally settled by my conviction yesterday, and we cannot enter into it again." In vain the lawyer explained the division of the parties on the previous day, Major Wilde was inexorable; and the other magistrates delicately and tacitly abstained from interference. However, the Major kindly said to Beatty—"I advise you to petition the board to remit the fine; and if I can be of any use to you, I shall be very glad." Beatty was reincarcerated, but liberated on payment of the fine; which will of course be refunded.

MR BUSFIELD FERRAND AND THE CHARTISTS.—At Rochdale, on Tuesday night, Mr Ferrand endured a most signal discomfiture. He had been announced to appear in the theatre at Rochdale, to address a meeting of Mr Oastler's friends. There were parties present of all shades of politics. The "busy hum of preparation" having terminated in the appointment of Mr Mackintosh, a chartist, to the chair, the first resolution was moved, to the effect that the meeting approved of the exertions of Oastler to ameliorate the condition of the working classes. Mr Ferrand stood forward to speak to the resolution, but soon wandered to other subjects, and plunged into one of his disconnected and abusive harangues. He promised, to allay the rising irritation, that he would not attack parties, but this promise he forgot, and portions of the meeting were provoked to violent opposition. Mr Ferrand stamped his feet furiously, and lost his temper.

"Don't you know (he said) Mr Fielden, the member for Oldham? A man that has done more to place you in the position you ought to occupy than any man in that house." Mr Livesey: Do you always support him? [applause, and "Turn him out."]—Mr Ferrand: No, don't turn him out; I'll make him tremble [laughter]. I asked Mr Fielden if he thought I could get a return of the agricultural labourers sent to the north? He said I could not. Ah, but I said I'd move for it, and I'd have it; and here it is. Ten thousand people were sent into the north; where are they now? ["In their stockings"—great uproar]. But I will know what has become of them. That return should have told where they are—how many of them have been torn to pieces by machinery! ["Oh, oh," and laughter.] I tell you [stamping with passion] you are a disgrace to your country! [great uproar and laughter]. The most illiterate working man would know how to conduct himself better than you [renewed laughter and uproar]. Ah, you may enjoy the comforts of this life now, but when death approaches you would give your thousands to have the blessings showered upon you that will follow me to the grave [cries of "Oh, oh," and "Carry him out and bury him decently!"]

Mr Livesey then replied to Mr Ferrand in the following terms:—I am a chartist, and a friend to the objects of this meeting. I trust that I am a friend to the poor as well as Mr Oastler and Mr Ferrand, but there is this difference between us—that I wish to legislate not alone for the pauper, but for the people before they become paupers [loud cheers]. I wish that the labour of the working man should be fairly represented in the House of Commons [cheering]. What then am I to think of such men as this Mr Ferrand, who comes round the country affecting so much sympathy and compassion for the sufferings of the poor; has he done anything to place them in a better position? [loud cries of "No," and tremendous cheering]. He would keep a monopoly of everything for the aristocracy but labour, and that he knows they don't like [roars of laughter]. Why all this cant and mock sympathy for the right of labour? I find that on the 16th June, 1843, Mr Ferrand voted against the abolition of church-rates, and I ask him if he calls this sympathy for the poor and oppressed? [loud cheers]. I say he is no friend of yours; he is one of that class of politicians who, instead of raising you in the scale of society, would sink you lower and lower. This sympathiser of the poor voted away your money—£21,000 of it to the King of Hanover [cheers]. I shall not need the aid of his stamping and stage effect; but I ask, where was his sympathy for the poor when he voted against Lord Howick's motion for an inquiry into the distress of the country? After referring to other unpopular votes of Mr Ferrand's, the speaker concluded: And now, my friends, you have his public acts before you; listen not to sophistry and pretence, but judge for yourselves. I think I have now fairly taken the bull—the Bingley bull—by the horns [much laughter].—Mr Ferrand rose to reply, but his appearance was the signal for the most indignant manifestation of disgust; and, after braving it for some time with affected indifference, he resumed his seat.—One of Mr Ferrand's friends proposed a vote of thanks to him, but only three hands were held up for it, while a motion for three groans was not only agreed to by an overwhelming majority, but were immediately given.—The "honourable" member here expressed regret that his presence had led to a disturbance, and then left the meeting sadly chafed.

INCENDIARISM.—REMARKABLE EXAMINATION.—On the 23rd of February, 1839, there were two fires in the parish of Kettering. On the morning of that day, a stack was burnt, belonging to Mr Roberts, and which stood away from the town. In the evening, a stack of wheat was burnt, which stood close to the town, and belonged to Mr John Gotch, butcher. On Friday last, December 29th, the following evidence was given before Mr J. Hogg:—Thomas Waddington deposed that on Thursday, Dec. 28, Thomas Katterns told him that he (Katterns), and he alone, fired Mr. Gotch's stack. John Leatherland examined: An hour before the fire broke out in Mr. Gotch's yard, I had been up into the town and was returning home. Opposite to the yard where the fire was I met Thomas Katterns. We were somewhat intimate, having been shopmates within a month. We spoke to each other. He seemed somewhat intoxicated. He asked me whether I had been at the fire in the morning. I told him I had. Coming up street, he said that in probability there would be one nearer home ere long. I asked him what reason he had for saying so. He said, "Never mind, but if you reveal what I've said to you, you'll be shot." I asked him why he told me, and he said, because I was secretary to the Radical Association. I immediately repudiated all connexion of the Radical Association with such doings as that, and expressed a hope that he had nothing to do with it. He said, no, it was nothing to do with him, but there would soon be strange doings in the country, and I being a friend, he thought it best to acquaint me with it. On further questioning him, he told me that what he had said was all a tale, he did it to frighten me, and that I need not take any fur-

ther notice of what he had said. Through his being in a state of inebriety, I did not take much notice of it. I saw him to the bottom of the entry where he lived, and left him, and went to bed. I thought it was a drunken tale. I went to bed immediately, and had not been in bed more than about 40 minutes before I was aroused by the cry of fire. I immediately got up, and went in the direction of the fire, and tried my utmost to extinguish it. When the fire was getting low I saw Katterns. I said that I hoped he had nothing to do with it. He said, "Come home with me, and I will tell you what I know of it." I went home with him. He made me promise to keep it a profound secret, or serious consequences would arise to myself. In fact he threatened my life, and this I think he did before, as well as after he told me. I said, "Surely you cannot be guilty of such a crime as that;" and he said, "Well, perhaps it was not me," and afterwards he said it was, and none but himself. I asked him particularly whether there were any other connected with him, and he said none but himself had done it, or knew anything of it. He said that if I revealed the secret, he should utterly deny having ever had any connexion with it. He seemed in a very excited state at the time, and I thought him half frantic, and had doubts of his sanity. He said that he set the stack on fire with a piece of waste cotton which he carried in his hat. He said that he did it for a lark, and to cause excitement in the town, and that he had no animosity whatever to Mr Gotch. I felt it a very painful secret to be entrusted with, but under circumstances, I thought it most prudent not to reveal it. I saw him a week afterward; he said, if I told he would deny it. Several months afterward, he told me it did not wear off his mind at all. I have seen him several times since, and he has told me he felt the enormity of the offence, and could hardly think it was he who did it. In 1840, he met me one Saturday night, in harvest time, and told me he could hardly trust me, and that on one particular occasion he had thought of taking away my life, but conscience forbade him. I am inclined to think this was merely to intimidate me. On Wednesday last, Dec. 27, I met him against Mr Gotch's, and he told me he was more uneasy than ever, and he did not much care whether I told or no. He said his conscience stung him so, he was sure he could not suffer more than he had suffered, that he thought perhaps it would be easier if the matter transpired. Yesterday (Thursday), about half-past one, he came to my house; I was at work; he was wringing his hands, and very much distressed; he beckoned me out of the house, and I followed him; he cried very much along the street; he told me that it preyed so on his mind, he could keep it no longer; he wanted me to go with him to his father and wife, and be present while he made confession to them, but I felt as though I could not do that, and advised him to go with me to Mr Gotch (banker); but it afterwards occurred to me that he had been ill, and I thought it would be too much for him; I then thought of Mr. T. H. Gotch, and told Katterns to walk about the churchyard, while I went into the bank. I went in and found Mr T. H. Gotch busy; went out again and told Katterns it was still a secret. While we were walking the policeman was near, and Katterns beckoned him and gave himself into custody. I should say that he told me he had no knowledge whatever of the fire in the morning of Feb. 23, 1839, nor any other. The policeman detailed the manner in which Katterns gave himself into custody. He found him in tears. He said, "I've something heavy on my mind that I must reveal." He said in reference to the fire, that he thought he could excite the public as much as had been done by Mr Roberts's fire in the morning. I asked him what could excite him to do it; he said he was at that time a member of the Kettering Radical Association; that he believed the speeches had excited him; and that as he sat at his work, he thought of exciting by his act, as much as others had done; that he alone did the deed, but others knew he was about to do it; he said that John Leatherland was secretary of the association, and that he (Katterns) fired the stack by placing some lighted tinder (which he carried in his hands) and some matches, and lighted some loose straw close to the stacks. He left the place immediately, and afterwards returned. The affair had worked so on his mind, that he had never been happy since. He left the association from the time of the fire. The following questions were put to this witness:—Did Katterns say who had made the speech which had excited him?—No. Did he repeat any part of the speeches?—No. Did he say who knew about the fire besides himself?—No. John Leatherland then added to his deposition as follows: I held the books of the association at that time, and I know that Thomas Katterns' name was erased from the list before the fire. He told me on the night of the fire, and after the fire, that some inflammatory speeches he had read in the papers, more especially those of J. R. Stephens, had excited his mind, and in some measure prompted him to the act.—Thomas Katterns, being asked if he wished to say anything, replied: I say I did not fire the stack.—The next day the prisoner was committed to Northampton gaol.

THE CHRISTMAS OF 1843.—On Christmas day, midges and butterflies were sporting in the sun; the blackbird and the thrush were heard in the green lanes of this locality; boys and men were bathing in the open sea at the mouth of the Tyne; the Cheviots were free from snow (a circumstance unprecedented in the existence of the oldest living shepherd); daisies and cowslips were growing on the banks of the Tees; a bird's nest, with two eggs, was found in a hedge near the residence of Mr Watson, at Burnopfield; and a dish of fine mushrooms was gathered

from a field near Cotfield House, Gateshead, the residence of Edmund Graham, Esq. The "oldest inhabitant" confesses that he never before experienced a Christmas like that of 1843.—*Gateshead Observer.*

SALE OF A WIFE.—On Saturday last, a brute in human shape, from West Hallam, named Hart, sold his wife in Nottingham market place, for 1s., to a fellow named Smith, with whom the woman had been living for several years. A rope was tied round the woman's waist, and, on the bargain being completed, and the money paid, it was given to the purchaser, who carried off his prize. All parties seemed satisfied.—*Nottingham Journal.*

IRELAND.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—At the weekly meeting of the Repeal association, on Tuesday, Mr John O'Connell read a correspondence, in which he had asked the Earl of Devon, on the part of many persons desirous of submitting evidence to the landlord and tenant commissioners, whether the commissioners intended to publish the evidence with their report? In reply, Lord Devon declined to pledge the commissioners as to the course which they should pursue with the evidence; remarking that "any uncertainty on the point cannot possibly impede or embarrass the production of any evidence which it may be thought right to submit for our consideration;" and stating that the commissioners (after adjourning for the holidays) would sit again in Dublin on the 8th of January, and intended "to take evidence in different parts of Ireland in the course of the next autumn!" Mr John O'Connell observed, that the commissioners evidently intended to burke the evidence; and the commission was attacked at great length and with much vehemence by him, Mr Reynolds, Mr John Augustus O'Neill, and Mr O'Neill Daunt. The repeal rent for the week was announced to be £474. Mr J. O'Connell announced that his father would be present at their meeting on Tuesday, the 16th instant.

THE STATE TRIALS.—Although more than a fortnight has yet to elapse before the commencement of term, the note of active preparation for the forthcoming state trials has been already sounded, and the public interest in the result, which had begun to flag during the vacation, increases in proportion as the all-important 15th of January draws near. Yesterday (Friday) notices were served on the traversers to the effect that, in pursuance of the motion of Mr Smyly, counsel for the Crown, the special jury will be nominated at twelve o'clock on Wednesday next, when the high sheriff of the city and the under-sheriff are to attend, and to bring with them the jurors' book and the special jurors' list, signed by the sheriff or his deputy, and all the numbers written, according to the act of Parliament, on distinct pieces of parchment or card.—*Times.*

REGISTRY OF ARMS.—Notices have been served upon Hugh Morgan Tuite, Esq., one of the members for Westmeath, and upon Sir Richard Nagle, Bart, an extensive proprietor in that county, that the applications on their behalf for the registry of their fire arms will be opposed at the quarter sessions. Mr Tuite is a protestant of large fortune, one of our most eminent agriculturists, and a most moderate, although decided and honest, politician. Government has forwarded instructions to the assistant barristers of counties, directing them, in all cases of appeal from the decisions of magistrates under the Arms bill, to disregard altogether objections arising out of the political opinions of the applicants.

ARBITRATION COURT.—Lord Ffrench and his son, the Hon. Martin Joseph Ffrench, presided in Ballinamore, on Monday week. Upwards of fifty cases were entered for hearing, some of which were adjourned.

FEDERAL UNION.—The Hon. Henry Caulfield, brother and heir presumptive to the title of Charlemont, has declared in favour of domestic legislation for Ireland on a federal basis. Mr Caulfield perceives the necessity of some decided demonstration of public opinion in Ireland previous to the state trials and the meeting of parliament.

MR S. O'BRIEN AND FEDERALISM.—In a long letter to Mr Thaddeus O'Malley, Irish priest, Mr Smith O'Brien explains his reasons for preferring absolute repeal of the union; but is "unwilling to bind himself by an irrevocable pledge against acquiescence in a federal constitution," as preferable to the present state of things. In reference to federalists, he says, "I continue, however, to think that these differences of opinion ought not to prevent those who are favourable to the principle of domestic legislation, on the basis of a federal constitution, from co-operating, through the Repeal association, with our efforts to abrogate the union, unless they are sincerely of opinion that our present subjugation to the British parliament is more advantageous to Ireland than legislative independence."

THE ARMS BILL.—The *Cork Reporter* of Friday contains a report of the proceedings had before the assistant-barrister and bench of magistrates at the Skibbereen sessions, for the purpose of hearing the claimants resident in that district to register their arms, in compliance with the initiative provisions of the new act; from which it appears that a wondrous change has been effected in the magisterial mind by the joint influence of public opinion and Lord Eliot's circular, and it has been suddenly discovered that, although it was just and reasonable to deny arms to repealers at Macroom, it is quite safe and proper to grant them at Skibbereen.

DEATH OF MR VALENTINE MAHER, M.P.—Mr Valentine Maher, one of the representatives of the

county of Tipperary, died quite suddenly on Christmas morning, at his residence, Turtulla, in that county. Daniel O'Connell, Esq., youngest son of the "Liberator," will, it is said, be brought forward as a candidate for the vacant seat, "in order, by his election at this crisis, to exhibit the determination of the people of Tipperary to sustain Mr O'Connell against the state prosecutions." Mr O'Connell was to be entertained at a public dinner in Tipperary to-morrow.

RESISTANCE TO POOR RATE.—The resistance to the collection of poor rates in Ireland, though unobserved for a time, continues. In the Castlebar union the guarlians are in debt on account of the arrears; but they deprecate making a new rate, which the poor-law commissioners wish them to do. In the Westport union the resistance is stimulated by the exhortations of the priests, and a new attempt at collection, under civil and military guard, is contemplated.

THE FINNOE TRAGEDY.—Mrs Waller is out of danger, and recovering, though slowly. Another murder has been committed near Finnoe. James Ardill, a protestant, ploughman to Mr Falkiner of Rodeen, near Borrisokane, was slain by a party who inflicted blows on his head with weapons called "skull-crackers." His shrieks for help brought out his wife and children, to find him a mangled corpse. There is no trace of the assassins.

REFORMATION IN THE PEERAGE.—The *Limerick Chronicle* says the Marquis of Westmeath is giving Sabbath discourses to his tenantry at Castletown-delvin.

JUSTICE IN IRELAND.—Another very serious charge against Mr Alexander O'Driscoll has been brought into strong light by a correspondence which has passed between Mr Daniel Dineen, a small farmer near Skibbereen, and the lord chancellor, published by the *Cork Reporter*. Mr Dineen seems to be an uneducated man, for he signs with a mark; and his share of the correspondence is probably written by a friend, or by his lawyer. His case is stated in a memorial. When theseizure of potatoes and other things for rent due to Mr O'Driscoll, was made upon the farm of the Sullivans, on the 4th November, some cows belonging to their neighbour, Dineen, which had strayed through a broken fence (how much has that broken fence cost Mr Dineen?) were seized among the rest; but a man, "who is as yet unknown," prevented the driver from taking the cattle away. Dineen was summoned by Mr O'Driscoll to appear before himself; and when he appeared, Mr O'Driscoll endeavoured to make him "swear against" the man who had rescued the cows. He refused. Mr O'Driscoll then took him to the police barracks, procured the presence of two other magistrates, and again tried to make him swear; but he again refused; on which Mr O'Driscoll, with some police, took him to Skibbereen gaol; and, without commitment or reason assigned, left him in custody of the gaoler. He remained there till the 8th, when he was brought before the bench of magistrates. For some time, in spite of the objection of two magistrates, Mr O'Driscoll kept his seat on the bench, from which he examined witnesses; then he went down to the table, and argued for an indictment; which the magistrates did not feel justified in granting. The prosecutor said that he did not care, as he would grant one himself! Eventually, Dineen was remanded to prison, whence he wrote his memorial. He had just signed it on the 13th, when, without application on his part, he was liberated by order of the magistrates who had remanded him. Dineen reminds the lord chancellor, that Mr O'Driscoll was some years ago struck out of the commission, but restored; and two years ago he was severely reprimanded by order of government. The lord chancellor, through his secretary, replied thus, on the 7th instant:—"He does not think that Mr O'Driscoll should have acted as a magistrate at all in his own case; but, under all the circumstances, he thinks it is not a case in which he is called upon to act. Mr O'Driscoll is, of course, liable to an action, if he acted illegally towards you." In a letter dated on the 13th instant, Dineen points out the important fact, as overlooked by the lord chancellor, that on the 4th November he was committed to prison, in a most illegal manner, without information or warrant; refers to Mr O'Driscoll's assault on the boy Dempsey; and calls for the dismissal of so ill-conducted a magistrate. In answer, on the 18th instant, Mr Secretary Sugden merely refers to his former letter; adding—"The lord chancellor is already in possession of the information as to Mr O'Driscoll's conduct in the other matter; but his lordship does not think it necessary to communicate with you on that subject." There the matter rests.

SCOTLAND.

PUBLIC MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

A public meeting, called at the request of the council of the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage union, was held on Thursday night, in the Waterloo rooms, in order to express approval of the plan proposed by Mr Sharman Crawford for obtaining from parliament the redress of those grievances under which they conceive the country to labour, and the concession of those rights to which they consider themselves entitled. The meeting was well attended, about 1,000 persons being present.

The DEAN OF GUILD, on being called to the chair, stated the object of the meeting, and expressed his concurrence in it.

Mr HOWIE, in a short speech, proposed the first resolution, which, in substance, stated that the meeting considered the great mass of the people to be deprived of their political liberty, inasmuch as they had no voice in the making of the laws which they

were called upon to obey; a state of things which, in their opinion, was at variance with sound wisdom, sound morality, sound Christianity, and sound expediency, and which tended to their social and moral degradation; and the meeting also felt called upon to express their approval of the principle of complete suffrage, and that no taxes ought to be levied without the consent of the people, through the sanction of their representatives in parliament. Mr Howie, at the conclusion of his speech, said a few men of sterling principles might go on making motion after motion in the house of Commons, whenever an attempt was made to touch the pockets of the people, till such time as their grievances were redressed, and their rights conceded.

Councillor STOTT seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr MARSHALL, secession minister, Leith, read the second resolution, which was as follows:—

"That, witnessing the results of class legislation, as manifested in the enormous debt with which the country was burdened, and the lavish expenditure of the public revenue, together with an oppressive taxation; and being convinced that the adoption of the complete suffrage principle was the only remedy for these evils, the meeting pledged itself to aid in carrying this principle out by all moral, lawful, and peaceful means."

Mr Marshall proceeded to enforce the topics contained in the resolution. He said it was possible that justice might be faithfully administered, and still peace might not be the result; but it was absolutely certain that, whenever justice was not administered, they could not expect peace [hear]. Discontent was at present widely spread, and the language of complaint was loud and universal; but in those quarters where relief might be expected, there was no disposition to grant relief, but rather a determination to withhold it. Those whose business it was to hold the balance equally between all parties in this country, and who could not but see that that balance hangs outrageously to one side, seemed not only determined not to right that balance, but seemed determined to prevent that balance righting itself [cheers]. He next referred to the national debt, and said that every pound of it was contracted in battling against the common liberties of man—in fighting with their brethren on the continent, and in slaughtering their sons and daughters across the Atlantic, and merely because they wanted to be free. The interest of this debt was thirty millions sterling annually; and there was the prospect that they would be soon unable to pay it; in which case a word which had been applied to the debts of other states would be applied to that of Britain, and the Sydney Smiths of other lands would be found lashing them with their satires, because of their repudiation. The reason why he said they had no prospect of paying off that debt, was on account of the lavish expenditure of the public income. Within the last two years, the expenditure of the country had exceeded the income by five millions sterling annually, and this at a time when taxation was pressing upon them with the utmost severity. Referring to the distress existing in the country, he asked, was this a time for adding to the army, as if the government was determined to feed the people with bullets instead of bread? Was this a time when the people's money ought to be employed in sending bishops to Jerusalem, to Barbadoes, and New Zealand? and men, too, who, by the very way in which they consent to be fitted out, knowing that the money furnished for that object was wrung from an unwilling and bed-ridden community, deserved, in all charity, to be named rather burglars than bishops. The speaker then dwelt at some length on the evils arising from monopolies—the corn law monopoly, the sugar and coffee monopoly, and ecclesiastical monopoly; and concluded by stating that the only way by which these could be destroyed was by insuring the destruction of that still more awful monopoly—the monopoly of the franchise [hear].

Mr HAMILTON seconded the motion; which was unanimously agreed to.

Dr RITCHIE proposed the third resolution; which was to this effect—that while the meeting joined with those who corrected the apathy which existed in reference to the principles of the Complete Suffrage Union, they never despaired of their ultimate triumph, and hailed the union of parties who had been too long alienated from each other; that they further approved of Mr Sharman Crawford's plan to demand a redress of grievances and a concession of rights, before the supplies were granted. The resolution also pledged the meeting to raise £50 to carry out this proposal. The Doctor having spoken at some length in support of his resolution, it was carried unanimously.

Mr JAMES ROBERTSON, independent minister, proposed the fourth resolution, lamenting the cause of the disaffected and unhappy state of Ireland, and deploring the measures adopted by the present administration, which were coercive instead of being conciliatory.

This resolution, on being seconded by Mr FALKNER, was also agreed to.

Councillor LINDSAY proposed the last resolution, condemning the suppression of public opinion by force, and expressing their indignation at the conduct of the government, in lately preventing their fellow-countrymen in Ireland from meeting to petition for a redress of their grievances.

Mr WATSON seconded the motion; which was also agreed to.

It was intimated that, when the proceedings were going on, £15 had been collected among the gentlemen on the platform; and that the books would be sent round the meeting, in which gentlemen might put down their names for any sum they might think proper.

Copies of a petition to be presented to Parliament, detailing the grievances which require to be redressed,

and a memorial to be presented to the members for the city on the same subject, were read and approved of.

The thanks of the meeting having been voted to the chairman, the meeting separated at 10 o'clock.

In reference to this meeting the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* remarks:—

The old spirit of freedom is beginning to display new energy; and its votaries, too long divided by misunderstandings and petty jealousies, are at length becoming alive to the necessity of hearty union and vigorous measures. We cannot find room to comment on the proceedings of the meeting, but fortunately they speak for themselves in a voice that cannot be misunderstood. They plainly indicate a growing determination in the minds of the middle and working classes to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of a tyrannous and oppressive aristocracy. The petition to parliament, which was carried unanimously, will be found to be a pithy statement of grievances; and a spirited memorial to the city members, for which we unfortunately cannot find room, calling on them to support Mr Crawford's plan, was also passed by acclamation. It was announced by the Rev. Dr Ritchie, at the close of a telling speech, that the Complete Suffrage Union of this city intend to raise £50 by subscription, to enable them to prosecute their measures with effect. It gives us pleasure to state that fully a third of this sum was subscribed before the meeting broke up.

BATHS FOR THE WORKING CLASSES.—On Wednesday last a public meeting of the inhabitants was held in the New Music Hall, Edinburgh, to take measures for erecting public baths, to which the poorer classes principally may have access at a reasonable rate. The hon. the Lord Provost was called to the chair; and the meeting was thereafter addressed by his lordship, Lord Dunfermline, James Simpson, Esq., advocate, Dr Alison, Lord Murray, Dr Candlish, Mr Wm Chambers, Bishop Gillis, Dr MacLagan, Mr Gibson Craig, M.P.; and by Mr Cranshoun, tailor, Mr A. Orr, letter carrier, Mr J. Anderson, and Mr Eckings, working men. Resolutions were carried for the erection of baths, which shall be open to the public at large, at a rate considerably more moderate than that accommodation has yet been afforded in Edinburgh, while to the working man and his family it shall be offered at a rate so moderate as to be easily within his reach. It was also agreed that the institution, both in its establishment and subsequent management, shall be in the hands of the working classes, with whom the scheme originated. A subscription was commenced to carry the object into operation.

PREVENTION OF SHIPWRECKS.—The Town Councils of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, and other port in the north of Scotland, as well as Gateshead, Newcastle, and others in England, have memorialised government for the introduction, early next session, of a bill, having for its object to lessen the present amount of shipwreck and loss of life.

A great Anti-corn-law banquet is to come off at Glasgow on the 10th inst.

A STRING OF GOOD REASONS IN FAVOUR OF COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.—A correspondent sends us the following extract of a letter from a friend, on the subject of complete suffrage:—"I am thoroughly glad that you have joined the Complete Suffrage Union. I am daily more convinced that the three steps on which the throne of oligarchy is raised are the monopolies of legislation, food, and knowledge; and as the first is the parent and base of the others, in destroying it we destroy all. The general reasons which I am in the habit of alleging for national enfranchisement are—because by far the largest portion of mankind have a clearer view of what conduces to their own interests than it is at all likely others should have, and therefore every man's social interests ought to be in his own keeping. Because forced subjection to the will of others is slavery. Because it is necessary that the personal free agency of every one be politically admitted, lest the vice and selfishness of others become his laws. Because it is necessary as the only social security which can be given to individuals for the protection of the fruits of labour, and of the liberty of speech, of person, and of act. Because the social freedom of the will of every man is essential to social moral agency and civil membership. Because the only possible foundations of national society are divine right, brute force, fraud, or common consent; and if the first three be repudiated, individual representation is the sole rational method known in which common consent can be exercised. Because it is on the labouring class that the welfare of the whole community depends; if they prosper all the other classes must, but if the welfare of the labourers and the welfare of the whole community be the same, why are they politically excommunicated? Because the great principle that "every man is equal in the eye of the law," ought least of all to be violated in the fundamental law and chief institution of a state—its legislature. Because every man is by the necessity of his nature a member of society, and has incumbent on him the duty of promoting the welfare of the whole society; and this obligation to be a citizen, and to perform certain duties as such, entitles him to the possession and use of means adequate to the complete performance of these duties. Because experience proves that no man can be trusted with legislative power over those to whom he is not responsible; and therefore every man is entitled to have those who legislate for him responsible to him, that legislation may be just. I believe that there exists also a legal right to the franchise on the part of all who pay taxes. Our old statutes abound with such declarations."

Literature.

An Essay on the Profession of Personal Religious Conviction, and on the Separation of Church and State. Translated from the French of Professor A. VINET. By CHARLES THEODORE JONES. Jackson and Walford. 1843.

WE believe ourselves to be approaching a day when the "fact" which will excite more attention than all other facts put together, is the alliance of church and state. We believe we can at present form a very faint estimate of the astonishment with which men will gather round the prostrate form of this unnatural prodigy, speculating on its causes, or recounting its histories. All other incongruities—the human head with the horse's tail, the woman's front with the fish's fins—are less incongruous; and even the mixture of iron with miry clay, or the presence of Dagon with the ark of God, serves only faintly to describe an evil of such portentous size and fearful augury. "Habituation," to use a Bœotic word, has an almost miraculous influence; else the thing could never grow, and live, and rule, as it does. That power should be lord of principle—that aristocracy should claim an hereditary right to lead devotion—that the name of The Blessed should be a mere motto for pride—that a system, vital with pernicious errors, should be applauded for its very unchangeableness—this in short, the whole combination should fulfil the Scripture image of a body of life chained to one of death—all this we could never have believed possible, but that we feel its existence true. Sinful as it is, however, we have looked at it till it no longer startles us, though the great wonder is that we do not wonder more.

It is remarkable how few men dare to look at this system as it is. Few of the defenders of establishments defend the realities of the case. Try to encounter the system, and you grasp no substantial figure, no historical fact; some hypothetical plausibility—some free church hallucination—which never did exist, and never can, eludes and mocks your efforts. Men try not to see the thing as it is. They would veil from themselves the reality, which is the butt of the scorner, and the lamentation of the spiritual—on which the sceptic sharpens his arrow, and with which only the worldling is contented.

But truth has its revenges, and, like all other good things, it can afford to wait its time. We like to look at events, as well as at individuals, in their family resemblances, as well as in their individualities. A strange multitude of occurrences seem just now arising, bearing upon one point. The progress of intolerant principles—the alarm which a development or two of them has excited—the movement of the church of Scotland—the truth it is bringing in the ways of dissenters, especially of Wesleyans—the disposition of the Puseyite party to question an alliance in which they are servants instead of masters—the prospect of the establishment of popery in Ireland, together with certain movements among dissenters themselves—all are like the small clouds arising in the horizon of an eastern sky. The storm will soon be over us in its fury!

We have spoken of the indisposition of men in general to look at things as they are. If familiarity sometimes breeds contempt, juxta-position sometimes creates affection. It would seem that something of this influence has come over dissenters themselves. With many of them the establishment of religion is a thing they would "not willingly let die." Most truly did Dr Reed say, in his "Advancement of Religion," the church needs to be converted again to its own opinions. It may be true, that deep in some recess of the dissenter's heart lies the conviction that the "holy alliance" is a misnomer, and ought to be dissolved; but of what use is the conviction there? Truth, like the diamond, derives its value from display. What can be more suspicious than the propensity to finger the precious jewellery, and to put it away into dark corners?

The time is coming—has indeed come, when questions like these must be fairly answered. Perfectly aware, as we are, that much must be done upon dissenters themselves before they can be roused up to the great enterprise, and not without fears lest the work be done without them after all, leaving them merely to applaud the triumph in securing which they have had no share, we most earnestly commend the perusal of this work of M. Vinet as full of great principles and earnest enforcements of this subject. It is not indeed adapted for superficial readers, being written in a philosophical and closely argumentative style, often reminding us of Pascal. But it is a book out of which a series of "tracts for the times" might be well composed. We have seldom met with a more able volume. We commend it to our readers as a mental exercise. Still more forcibly would we recommend it as full of moral power.

We wish, however, that the author (through his translator) should speak for himself:—

"The prominent evil of our age, or rather the most striking symptoms of its unhealthy condition, is the almost universal absence of conviction, whether on the subject of religion, of morality, or even of politics. It

is not simply that convictions are defective; the very principle of conviction is wanting. The fountains of belief are dried up. Scepticism has become the characteristic of the age. The voice of conscience is silent. Like a paralysed member, a lifeless organ, or an extinct sense of the human frame, it no longer answers the purpose of its existence. The present generation, whilst aiming to understand everything, has become incapable of forming a judgment on anything. Everything is probable, anything is plausible; the affirmative and the negative of every question. Nothing is decisive, nothing rejected, nothing received."

"The divine founder of Christianity has sanctioned the principle that there is a duty owing to the truth; that the truth itself is most sacred and precious; that its acquisition must not be neglected, nor its proclamation dispensed with; that it is the supreme good of the whole world, the property of every man, his right and his duty."—"Christianity is a testimony or martyrdom; every Christian is a martyr, and has no other calling upon earth than 'to show forth the praises of Him who has called him out of darkness into His marvellous light.' The disciple of a God who died for the truth ought, also, to be willing to die for the truth; if not on the cross or in the flames, at least by the perpetual subjection of self-love or the constant practice of self-denial; if not in his body, at least in the good opinion of his fellow-creatures, whose esteem is deemed a second life, and whose contempt is little short of death. Thus, the distinguishing characteristic, the primary seal of Christianity, is testimony—is confession; and the greatest crime towards God is silence."

The first part of this work relates to the duty of professing personal religious conviction. The first chapter inculcates the obligation of professing our convictions when fully matured. The second shows that this principle does not threaten to demolish society—that "it is motion which preserves, and inaction which destroys," and that the very conflicts of truth are pledges of its peace. The third chapter shows that "as religion gives the true signification of every man, and of the whole of society," so it is our duty to avow our religious convictions above all others. This is enforced in the fourth chapter by our duty to our neighbour, to God, and to our own consciences. The next chapters place our belief in opposition to other beliefs, and regard the duty of avowing our convictions first in relation to infidelity, and then to other religious creeds—and thus terminates the first half of the volume.

The second part treats of "National establishments considered with reference to the profession of personal religious conviction." Under this head the author treats of persecution and protection, showing that the profession of religious convictions should be protected, but protected as the common right of all, and that we deprecate protection of a particular creed, for the same reason that we deprecate persecution. He then asks, Can the state, as a state, profess a religion? In answering the question, he remarks that the state, as religious, denies individuality, and that religion can never become a mere collective fact, and that the soul, having sworn its whole allegiance to God, can yield nothing to the state without unfaithfulness. The author then answers in a masterly way the objection that great embarrassment would arise from the carrying out of the truth. We are then carried to the question whether the state represents the entire man—man in his spiritual relations, as well as in his political ones? This, too, is ably disposed of. The principles of Christianity are next brought to bear upon the subject. We give an extract:—

"Men of faith and piety! shake off this sleep, which betrays you into fatal dreams. At length arouse yourselves—no longer take part with your enemies; recognise, in your adhesion to this corrupting system, a suggestion of the flesh. It is security which creates your danger; it is danger which will constitute your safety. All is fictitious, all is false, in the system to which you have attached yourselves; it denies the exclusively individual character of religion; it affirms what you cannot believe—the existence of a Christian nation—of a Christian state—of a Christian world; it wounds to the life the substance of your faith; it contradicts the gospel, it gives the lie to Christ himself. Is it possible that you have been thus long in discovering these sufficiently evident truths, and that the true design of your great enemy is not yet revealed to you, by the manner in which the powers of this world understand and fulfil it? Perhaps you answer, What matters a system? We have, individually, as much liberty as we require; we have always been able to believe, to act, to pray, according to the dictates of our conscience; we can, besides, under this system, meet and press a fraternal hand; here, we still find the communion of saints! Pious egotism! which we cannot sufficiently deplore. Strange inconsistency in a faith which, taking too little account of individuality, is at the same time too little social! The error of a Christianity too internal, which regards as worldliness any inquiry into the forms and external conditions of life, until the vice of those forms, by affecting itself, is at length fully disclosed! Oh! how the enemies of religion must deride and triumph, to see men of faith the dupes of hypocritical respect, and accepting for dignity a religion which compromises, and a homage which enslaves it!"

The author next addresses himself to the inquiry—Can religion be maintained without the aid of the state? He shows that the true interest of religion is to be spiritual, and that the state cannot make it more spiritual. He then asks, Does the state require the assistance of the church? The reply is, that the state cannot dispense with the church, as the means of religious vitality; but that this does not involve alliance; for if, as has been shown, through that alliance religion loses its vitality, how can the state gain by it?

The last chapter on "modes of transition and accommodation" is much less practical than we

should have liked. Indeed, this may be regarded as too much the fault of the whole work. But, as a book of principles, it is invaluable. We only add, in conclusion, that the translator, Mr Charles Theodore Jones, seems to have ably performed his task.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *The Alist or Divine*, a Message to our Times. Part 1.
2. *Alist*, an Autobiography. Part 1.
3. *Dr Hoby's Tour to Hamburg, Copenhagen, &c.*
4. *The Teacher's Manual*. Vol. 1, and No. 17.
5. *Essay on War*.
6. *Is the Union Right?* An Appeal to Sunday-school Teachers.
7. *Letter on the Congregational Union of Ireland*.
8. *Youthful Consecration*.
9. *The Movement and Anti-Persecution Gazette*.
10. *Christian Union*. By J. LEIFCHILD, D.D.
11. *The Philosophy of Puseyism*. By J. G. HUGHES, Esq.
12. *Christian Consolation*. By E. MANNERING.
13. *Address to the Inhabitants of St Dunstan's, Stepney*.
14. *"We are Free;" Scena*. Poetry by R. NICOLL. Music by HERR STAUDIGL.
15. *Man Thinking*. By R. W. EMERSON.
16. *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, 1843*. By J. F. JOHNSON.
17. *Medical Times Almanack*.
18. *Herald of Peace*, January.
19. *Herald of Peace*, Vol. 3.
20. *Letter from J. C. Fuller to J. J. Gurney*.
21. *Illuminated Magazine*, January.
22. *Home Missionary Magazine*, January.
23. *The Baptist Examiner*, January.

Miscellaneous.

THE BAPTIST UNION AND GENERAL EDUCATION.—We have great pleasure in inserting the following communication on the subject of popular education:—

"BAPTIST UNION.

"London, December 12th, 1843.

"Dear Brother—The committee of the Baptist union, assured of your deep interest in the question of general education, beg to submit to you a few thoughts on the subject, as it presses itself on their minds at the present crisis.

"The committee met on the 1st of November, for the consideration of the principal aspects of the educational question; and they adopted with entire unanimity the following resolutions, viz:—

"1. That this committee, while grateful to an overruling Providence for the frustration of the educational scheme developed in the late Factories' bill, cannot hesitate to express their conviction that, vast as the work of popular education may be, it can be effectually conducted by popular energies; and that it cannot be interfered with by government in any manner, without both injury and danger.

"2. That, appreciating the urgency with which the late crisis and its happy issue enforce voluntary efforts for the advancement of popular education, and earnestly desirous that the resources of the Baptist churches in the United Kingdom should be universally and systematically applied to this end, this committee warmly recommend to them a cordial and zealous co-operation in such efforts as may tend to diffuse education on the principles of the British and Foreign School society, as a course most consistent with catholic principles, and most conducive to the public good.

"In the principles which the committee, after mature consideration, were thus led to adopt, they anticipate, if not the universal, at least the general concurrence of their brethren; and under this conviction they send them abroad, not for the purpose of information merely, but in order more particularly to engage the co-operation of the churches in the plan thus marked out.

"In seeking to promote the universal diffusion of education on the British system, it is obvious that a commencement should be made with our own neighbourhood. Accordingly, the first recommendation which the committee would place before the churches is, that each should examine whether the means of general education be deficient in its immediate vicinity. Should so large a deficiency be found to exist as to be incapable of remedy by any practicable enlargement of existing schools, and consequently to require the establishment of a new one, it would then be expedient to solicit a combination of the friends of education of all denominations on the spot, in an effort to institute an adequate British school. In such an attempt aid might be sought from the British and Foreign School society, if local means were insufficient.

"The immediate and surrounding neighbourhood being provided for, a lively sympathy should, of course, be cherished with those parts of the country (unhappily too numerous) for which education must be provided, to a great extent, if not almost wholly, from extrinsic sources; and the efforts which the British and Foreign School society are making to meet this demand should be cordially aided, whether by individual subscriptions or by congregational collections.

"In such a course of exertion as the committee have now briefly sketched, it is evident that the Baptist churches would be—not, indeed, using scholastic instruction as a means of sectarian increase—but making an effective and proportionate contribution towards the general education of the people: and, upon mature consideration, the committee recommend it in preference to the plan of denominational action. For the great object in view our brethren everywhere can do something, and something more, perhaps, than has yet been done. Were all to do what they could, an invaluable impulse might be given to the educational machinery which is now at work, and an example might be set at once honourable to the denomination, and influential on the members of other communions.

"Submitting these suggestions to your serious consideration, and requesting the communication of them to the church and congregation under your care,

"We are, dear brothers, yours in Christian regard,
W. H. MURCH,
(Signed by direction of the committee) EDW. STANE,
J. H. HINTON.
Secretaries.

SCHEME FOR ERECTING FIVE HUNDRED SCHOOLS.—In our last paper we gave some interesting information in regard to the progress of Mr M'Donald's admirable scheme for the erection of five hundred schools in connexion with the Free church. It has been resolved to raise £50,000 for this important purpose, and already £20,000 of this sum has been obtained. Greenock and Glasgow have been already visited, and the free churchmen there have come nobly forward in aid of the cause. Mr M'Donald intends, we understand, to visit Edinburgh next week, and we trust our fellow townsmen here also will be ready to come generously to the aid of his noble, Christian, and truly national object.—*Edinburgh Witness.*

WHIG REMEDIES FOR IRELAND.—In the recently issued number of the *Edinburgh Review*, for January, 1844, appears a long article on the state of Ireland, which is regarded as a "party feeler" on behalf of the whigs. In this article, both repeal and Mr O'Connell are denounced in unmeasured terms. The most curious portion of the article in question, is that which points out the remedies necessary, in the estimation of the reviewer, for the re-establishment of tranquillity in the sister kingdom. The *Spectator* gives a summary of the proposed remedies, which, with a few preliminary remarks from that paper, we subjoin:—"The novelty is the multitudinous and cumulative character of the remedial scheme: it is not what Lord John proposed, nor either of them, but what all proposed, with something more. It is doubtful whether any one of the statesmen would consent to all the remedies—some have as yet gone a very little way; but the scheme is put forth as if it were one that the party would of course adopt as a whole. Would they? Will they, next session, avow such an intention? We have endeavoured to extract the pith of the propositions; hoping that, in the process of compressing what is developed in some forty or fifty out of the eighty pages devoted to Ireland, we have not mistranslated the original. We take them as nearly as possible in the order of the *Review*."

1. Public provision for the Roman catholic clergy, and for the maintenance of their churches. The writer proposes "the creation of a corporation aggregate, to be depositaries of the legal estate in the public property of the Irish catholic church;" with power to acquire land or money by purchase, donation, devise, or bequest. Somewhere about 50,000*l.* a year to be issued to the corporation from the public funds, in aid of sums of about the same amount to be expected from the public, for the erection, maintenance, and purchase of churches, glebe-houses, and glebes. Including the personal expenses of the clergy, and an increased grant to Maynooth College, the total cost is estimated not to exceed 320,000*l.* a year; to be bestowed, not by an annual vote, but in one perfect donation; a two per cent. stock to be created, and held in the name of the commissioners, for the purpose.

2. Maynooth College to be incorporated, and raised to the rank of an university, with power to acquire money and lands by donation, devise, or bequest; and to have a largely increased grant.

3. Remodeling of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. The "congregational system," or allotment of clergymen according to numbers of the people, to supersede the present "territorial system," or allotment of clergymen to particular geographical districts; a change proposed by Mr Bingham Baring in 1835, as shown in the *Spectator* some six months since.

4. Total redemption of the tithe rent-charge, and the formation of a general fund for the support of the protestant clergy. Cathedral lands and useless glebes to be sold in aid of the funds. The sale of the cathedral lands would be particularly facile in Ireland, because, instead of allowing the lease to run against the life of a bishop, in expectation of a large fine at its expiry, it is most usual to anticipate part of that fine every year, by annually renewing the twenty-one years' lease.

5. Exclusion of the Irish protestant bishops from the House of Lords. It would be impossible to admit catholic bishops in the House; and, therefore, to place catholics and protestants on an equality, the protestant bishops should be excluded.

6. The surplus revenue of the protestant establishment to be paid over, as proposed by Lord Melbourne's administration, to the consolidated fund.

7. The Education Board to be placed on a more independent and permanent footing, by being incorporated, and allowed to acquire money or lands by donation, devise, or bequest.

8. Some alteration of land-tenure. This is very slightly touched upon, in deference to the inquiry of the landlord and tenant commission.

9. Alteration of the Irish Stamp Act of 1842. The act assimilated the Irish to the unjust British duties; thus raising the impost on the absolute or qualified alienation of land from one hundred to three hundred per cent.; with a scale *contra valorem*—"the smaller the value of the property, the higher in general the value of duty;" a mortgage for 50*l.* is 1*l.*; for 15,000*l.* 15*l.*

10. A preliminary inquiry with a view to a modification of the poor-law, and to stringent measures for the suppression of vagrancy.

11. Suppressions of combinations among artisans; which are far more tyrannous and ruinous in Ireland than in Scotland or England.

12. An addition to the stipendiary magistrates; the already inadequate number of whom has, with great impolicy, been diminished by the present government.

13. The abolition of the lord-lieutenancy, as a useless pageant, the "nucleus of faction and intrigue."

14. The creation of a fourth secretary of state for Ireland.

15. An annual visit by the Queen to Ireland—"a real residence of several weeks; a residence long enough to make the presence of the Sovereign no unusual element in Irish life."

16. The holding of Parliamentary sessions in Dublin.

DR KALLEY.—We have learned, from authority in which we place great confidence, that a letter has been received from Dr Kalley, stating that orders had been given which ought to have secured his liberation, and that, from his liberation not having taken place, he believed that he was in the hands of the Inquisition.—*Witness.*

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN CANADA.—The *Morning Chronicle* of this day makes the following remarks on the late ministerial crisis in Canada, which put the subject in a much clearer light:—"We published yesterday the statements of Mr Baldwin and Mr Lafontaine with respect to the causes which led to their resignation of office, as well as Sir Charles Metcalfe's reply; and we must own that we do not consider the latter as so triumphant and conclusive as the *Times* represents it. From the statements of Messrs Lafontaine, Baldwin, and Sullivan, it would appear that, as members of the executive council, they did not demand more than consultative power, and liberty of freely proffering advice, which falls far short of the demands of those who would carry ministerial responsibility in the colonies to the same lengths as at home. They demanded of the Governor-general that he should make no appointment, nor offer of one, without previously consulting the council, and laying before it the list of candidates; that the council should recommend others at discretion; and that the Governor-general in deciding, after taking their advice, should not make any appointment prejudicial to their influence." This is Sir Charles Metcalfe's own version of the ministerial proposals. We must own we do not think them exorbitant. They insist on giving advice, but do not insist on its being followed. The Governor may make any other decision or appointment that he pleases—the nomination of a neutral person, for example—but he is besought not to appoint to place individuals actually hostile to the ministers in office. Surely this is not carrying the principle of our colonial responsibility too far.

INCREASE OF IMPORT DUTIES BY BRAZIL.—Advices have just been received from Rio to the 31st of October, from which we learn that the Brazilian government has adopted a course with regard to several kinds of British goods imported into that country which will have the effect of raising the amount of duties to which they are liable immediately, and that, as it believes, without any breach of the terms of the treaty, and, consequently, without creating any right of complaint on the part of this country.—*Liverpool Times.*

DANGEROUS ACCIDENT TO MR FEAROUS O'CONNOR.—A correspondent writes that a fish-bone has been so firmly fixed in Mr O'Connor's throat since last Thursday, that all efforts have failed to remove it. His medical attendant deems his situation so precarious that he has ordered him to abstain from all conversation.—*Chronicle.*

It is computed by qualified authorities that the annual loss of life from filth and bad ventilation is greater than the loss from death or wounds in any modern wars in which this country has been engaged. The poor law commissioners state, that "of the 43,000 cases of widowhood, and the 112,000 cases of destitute orphanage, relieved from the poor's rates of England and Wales alone, it appears that the greatest proportion of deaths of the heads of families occurred from disease propagated by removable causes.

THE SLAVES ESCAPED FROM FLORIDA.—We have been disappointed by not finding in the American papers received since our last some further information respecting the seven slaves who have effected their escape from Florida to Nassau, of which important occurrence our private letter from the Rev. Joshua Leavitt contains the only particulars which have yet transpired in this country. In the last *Reporter* we mentioned that the information received at the Anti-slavery office had been immediately forwarded to Lord Aberdeen; and we are happy now in being able to state that a reply has been received, containing an assurance that the careful attention of the government will be directed to the case.—*Anti-slavery Reporter.*

AVERAGE MORTALITY OF MANKIND.—The population of the whole earth has been variously estimated at between eight hundred thousand and a million million of souls. According to the "English Pocket Diary," if we fix upon an intermediate number, say 946,080,000, and assign thirty years for the continuance of each generation, we shall find that the "children of men" come into the world and go out of it at the following average:—

Every second	1
" minute	60
" hour	3,600
" day, 24 hours	86,400
" week, 7 days	604,800
" month, 30 days	2,592,000
" year, 365 days	32,536,000
" generation, 30 years	946,080,000

It thus appears that every stroke of the pendulum ushers a human being into existence, and heralds the departure of another to "that bourne from whence no traveler returns."

BIRTH.

December 24th, at Stamford hill, Mrs HENRY VINCENT of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Dec. 23, at Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham, by Mr J. A. James, the minister, Mr CHARLES HUNT, of Bishop Street, to MARY ANN SMITH, eldest daughter of Mr George Smith, of Alcester Street, in this town.

Dec. 23, by license, at the Baptist Chapel, Stratford-on-Avon, Professor C. F. MASON, B.A., of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, to ELIZABETH EDWARDS, youngest daughter of Mr J. Edwards, minister of the former place.

Dec. 24, at Ebenezer Chapel, Dewsbury, by Mr H. E. Weeks, Mr GEORGE LISTER, clothier, to ELIZABETH SCHORFIELD, daughter of Mr Joseph Schorfield, all of Batley.

Dec. 25, at Lendal Chapel, York, by Mr James Parsons, Mr MATTHEW LONGTOFT, confectioner, to Miss MARY ANN WOOD, both of that city.

Dec. 25, at Hanover Street Chapel, Halifax, by Mr John Taylor, Mr SAMUEL FLETCHER, to Miss GRACE MURGATROYD, both of Northowram.

Dec. 25, at Horton Lane Chapel, Bradford, Mr JESSE YEW-DALL, bailiff of the Court of Requests, to Miss ANN BREA, both of that town.

Dec. 25, at Vicar Lane chapel, Coventry, by Mr J. Sibree, Mr JOSIAH HORDERN COOK, to Miss ROSINA KEY, both of that city.

Dec. 25, at Scotland Street chapel, Sheffield, by Mr F. Newberry, Mr EDWARD FALDING, Norfolk Street, to Miss MARY ANN BARTRAM, Duke Street.

Dec. 25, at the independent chapel, Framlingham, Mr EDWARD LANKESTER, wine merchant, to LOUISA, youngest daughter of Mr Jonathan Wightman, both of Framlingham.

Dec. 26, at Howard street chapel, Sheffield, by Mr R. S. Bayley, the minister, Mr GEORGE MARRIOT, Broad lane, to Miss ANN RAMSDEN, Eyre lane.

December 26, at Square chapel, Halifax, by Mr Alexander Ewing, independent minister, Mr WILLIAM GLADHILL, to Miss EMMA WILD, both of that place.

Dec. 26, at the independent chapel, Wilsden, Mr G. T. ANDERSON, son of the late Christopher Anderson, Esq., to MARY, daughter of the late Mr John Balme, gentleman, all of that place.

Dec. 26, at Stokenchurch chapel, Oxon, Mr JAMES BOWDEN, of Radnage, Bucks, to ANN, daughter of the late Mr John TOWERTON, of Stokenchurch.

Dec. 28, at Howard Street chapel, Sheffield, Mr JOSEPH WILKINSON, South Street Park, to Miss SARAH GREAVES, Porter Street.

DEATHS.

Aug. 29, in the island of Hong Kong, the Honourable JOHN ROBERT MORRISON, Esq., her Majesty's colonial secretary (*pro tem.*). Mr M. had recently been appointed a member of the Legislative and executive Council of the Colony, and Chinese secretary to the government of Hong Kong. He fell a victim to the climate, in the 32nd year of his age, deeply regretted by all. Like his venerated father, he was deeply versed in the literature and language of China, and had been in the service of the government during the whole of the late war. He was the eldest son of the late Dr Morrison, Chinese missionary, and was interred in his father's tomb at Macao, on the 30th, the funeral being attended by a great number of the civil and military gentlemen from Hong Kong.

Dec. 12, after a short illness, at her villa, near Sinigaglia (Roman States), at the age of fifty-nine, the celebrated Madame CATALANI, who for twenty-two years held with so much éclat the sceptre of song.

Dec. 21, at Aylesbury, ISAAC WAITE, dissenting minister, aged 24.

Dec. 23, at the house of her father, Mr James Clutterbuck, Stroud, Mrs ESTHER TUNLEY, wife of Mr Richard Tunley, minister of the gospel at Northampton, aged 29. Her affliction was long and painful, but she was divinely supported, and her end was most triumphant.

Dec. 23, at the residence of Mr T. Tilly, baptist minister of Forton, Hants, in the 20th year of his age, JOHN, his sixth son, late a student for the Christian ministry in Stepney college, London.

Dec. 23, Mr JAMES DAWSON, of Dudley, aged 64, after a lingering illness, which he bore with Christian fortitude and resignation. His decease is deeply lamented by the independent church and congregation over whom he was the beloved pastor forty-three years, during which time he maintained an unblemished reputation, and was respected by all who knew him.

Dec. 26, at his residence, No. 53, Gibson square, Islington, Mr JOHN JENNINGS, aged 63. He was for many years a devoted follower of Christ. His life was holy and useful, and his end was peace.

Dec. 26, at the Admiralty house, Sheerness, Vice-Admiral Sir EDWARD BRACE, K.C.B., commander-in-chief at the Nore, in his 70th year.

Dec. 27, at Walworth, aged 66, ELIZABETH, widow of Mr James DORE, formerly pastor of the church in Masepond, South-wark.

Dec. 30, at Lindfield, Sussex, after a life devoted to the best interests of mankind, WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S., in his 74th year.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Dec. 29.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 85:—

The Wesleyan Methodist chapel, Huddersfield.

The Independent chapel, Huddersfield.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

COLLINS, DANIEL, Bennett's place, Pollard's row, Bethnal green, silk manufacturer.

PHILLIPS, JOHN, Pinners' hall court, Old Broad street, City, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

CARTER, WILLIAM CLAUDE, Ashford, Kent, druggist, Jan. 5, Feb. 7: solicitor, Mr F. J. Manning, 30, Craven street, Strand.

COOK, SAMUEL, Dudley, Worcestershire, draper, Jan. 9, Feb. 6: solicitors, Messrs Bourne and Wainwright, Dudley.

POWELL, CHARLES, Coventry, watch maker, Jan. 9, Feb. 6: solicitor, Mr Royle, Coventry.

PUGHE, EVAN, Everton, near Liverpool, tailor, Jan. 12, Feb. 9: solicitors, Mr H. Hime, Liverpool, and Messrs Chester and Co., Staple inn, London.

REDSHAW, THOMAS, Bourn, Lincolnshire, saddler, Jan. 8, Feb. 12: solicitors, Mr T. Myers, Stamford, and Messrs Gem and Co., Birmingham.

THOMPSON, WILLIAM, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant, Jan. 10, Feb. 19: solicitors, Mr J. Watson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Messrs Shield and Harwood, Queen street, Chespalde, London.

VINE, THOMAS WALTER, 20, Peerless row, City road, carpenter, Jan. 5, Feb. 9: solicitors, Messrs Watson and Broughton, 5, Falcon square.

WOLLAND, JOHN and WILLIAM, Exeter and Powderham, Devonshire, turners, Jan. 15, Feb. 7: solicitors, Mr Stogden, Exeter, and Messrs Kedwell and Co., 34, Lime street, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

FRASER, CHARLES, Glasgow, merchant, Jan. 2, 30.

HUMPHREY, DAVID, and Co., Garve, Ross-shire, contractors, Jan. 2, 30.

MANSON, JOHN, Kyleakin, Inverness-shire, merchant, Jan. 8, Feb. 1.

PATERSON, WILLIAM and DAVID, Arbroath, merchants, Jan. 4, 25.

WOTHERSPOON, GAVIN, Airdrie, merchant, Jan. 3, 23.

Tuesday, Jan. 2nd.

BANKRUPTS.

BAYLIS, JOSEPH, Deritend, Warwickshire, victualer, January 10, February 10: solicitors, Messrs Chilton and Co., Chancery lane, London; and Mr C. Benson, Birmingham.

HOLDSWORTH, GEORGE, Saltery mill, Northowram, Yorkshire, worsted spinner, January 12, February 5: solicitors, Messrs Emmett and Allen, Bloomsbury square, London; Messrs L. and E. N. Alexander, Halifax; and Mr Courtenay, Leeds.

NICHOLSON, DONALD, Liverpool, batter, January 13, February 13: solicitors, Mr E. Pritchard, 9, Staple inn, London; and Mr Henry Hime, Liverpool.

SMITH, BENJAMIN, Tipton, Staffordshire, grocer, January 12, February 6: solicitors, Messrs Mottram and Giddy, Birmingham.

STEVENS, ROBERT, 32 and 33, New Cut, Lambeth, Surrey, dealer in china, January 9, February 9: solicitors, Messrs Turner and Hensman, Basing lane, City.

TURNER, HAWITT FISH, Myddleton street, Clerkenwell, painted baize manufacturer, January 12, February 13: solicitors, Messrs Taylor and Co., Great James street.

WOOD, WILLIAM, and PORT, HANEY, Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, screw manufacturers, January 10, February 17: solicitors, John and Joseph Richardson, Burton-upon-Trent.

WHEATLEY, JOHN, Kennington cross, Lambeth, Surrey, livery stable keeper, January 9, February 13: solicitor, Mr Harpur, Kennington cross.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

EWING, ROBERT, Largs, Ayrshire, joiner, Jan. 8, 29.
FERGUSON, ROBERT and DAVID, Dundee, sail makers, Jan. 10, 29.
FINLAYSON, THOMAS, Tain, malester, Jan. 8, and Feb. 1.
LAPRAIK, WILLIAM DYKES, Glasgow, builder, Jan. 6, 29.
PATERSON, WILLIAM, & Co., Kelly Bleachfield, Arbroath, bleachers, Jan. 8, 26.
ROBERTSON, FRANCIS, Dundee, Merchant, Jan. 8, 31.

BRITISH FUNDS.

During the past week prices have been firm, and purchases of stock, to a considerable extent, have been made.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
5 per cent. Consols	96½	96½	96½	96½	97½	95½
Ditto for Opening	96½	96½	97½	96½	97½	96½
3 per cent. Reduced	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
New 3½ per cent.	121½	121½	121½	121½	121½	121½
Long Annuities	183½	184	184½	183½	185	183
Bank Stock	61pm	60pm	64pm	58pm	66pm	58pm
India Stock	77pm	77pm	77pm	76pm	80pm	74pm
Exchequer Bills						
India Bonds						

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	103½	Mexican	31½
Belgian	73	Peruvian	—
Brazilian	—	Portuguese 5 per cent.	—
Buenos Ayres	—	Ditto 3 per cent.	—
Columbian	111	Russian	117
Danish	86½	Spanish Active	20½
Dutch 2½ per cent.	56½	Ditto Passive	4½
Ditto 5 per cent.	99½	Ditto Deferred	12

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	56½	London and Brighton	42
Birmingham & Gloucester	64	London & Croydon Trunk	14½
Blackwall	64	London and Greenwich	5½
Bristol and Exeter	64	Ditto New	—
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	—	Manchester & Birm.	—
Eastern Counties	11	Manchester and Leeds	101
Edinburgh and Glasgow	—	Midland Counties	86
Great North of England	—	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great Western	98½	North Midland	99
Ditto New	—	Ditto New	—
Ditto Fifths	—	South Eastern and Dover	35
London and Birmingham	237	South Western	74½
Ditto Quarter Shares	—	Ditto New	—

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, JAN. 1.

The show of English wheat from the home counties this morning was exceedingly short, and by no means improved in condition; yet the millers being rather anxious buyers, an early clearance was made at 1s. per qr above the rates of last market day. There is also a fair inquiry for free foreign, which sells at former currency.

There is a tolerably good arrival of barley, all descriptions of which meet a fair demand at somewhat better prices.

Beans and peas support previous quotations.

There is no addition to the arrival of oats. The sale was not extensive, but the prices of last week were fully realised.

Wheat, Red New	42 to 55	Malt, Ordinary	58 to 55
Fine	54 to 59	Pale	60 to 63
White	53 to 63	Rye	30 to 35
Fine	58 to 65	Peas, Hog	27 to 33
Flour, per sack	45 to 50	Maple	28 to 33
Barley	20 to 28	Boilers	33 to 38
Melting	24 to 28	Beans, Ticks	35 to 38

Wheat, Red New	42 to 55	Wheat	50s. 3d.
Barley	20 to 28	Barley	32 0
Oats	18 to 24	Oats	18 9
Potato	21 to 25	Peas	30 3

Wheat	50s. 3d.	Wheat	50s. 11d.
Barley	32 0	Barley	32 0
Oats	18 9	Oats	18 9
Peas	30 3	Peas	30 3
Beans	33 0	Beans	33 0
Maple	28 0	Maple	28 0
Rye	30 0	Rye	30 0
Melting	24 0	Melting	24 0

Wheat	50s. 3d.	Wheat	50s. 11d.
Barley	32 0	Barley	32 0
Oats	18 9	Oats	18 9
Peas	30 3	Peas	30 3
Beans	33 0	Beans	33 0
Maple	28 0	Maple	28 0
Rye	30 0	Rye	30 0
Melting	24 0	Melting	24 0

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ern and midland districts comprised 450 Herefords, Devons, runts, Scots, &c. From other parts of England we received 350 of various breeds; from Ireland 30 beasts; and from Scotland 90 horned and polled Scots. Sheep came rather freely to hand and, for the most part, in excellent condition; but trade must be considered dull, though last week's quotations were well supported. The numbers of calves were about equal to meet the wants of the dealers, and nearly or quite the whole of them were disposed of at Friday's advanced rates. The pork trade was rather active. No importations of live stock have taken place.

Beef	3s. 2d. to 4s. 2d.	Veal	3s. 4d. to 4s. 6d.
Mutton	3 2 4 8	Pork	3 2 4 6

Friday	690	Sheep	4,210	Calves	168	Pigs	380
Monday	2,738		23,260		78		239

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INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE. New Series, price 3d. Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH FLETCHER. This periodical is designed for the YOUNG PEOPLE of the Independent denomination. The numbers for the coming year will be found of especial interest to Sabbath School Teachers. London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, and Co.

Just published, price 6d.
SNOW, Paternoster row; RIDGWAY, 169, Piccadilly;
LAW and CONSCIENCE; or, the Duty of Dis-
senters on Church Taxes. Remarks opposed to Recent
Advice in the *Eclectic Review*, in an Article entitled, "Sir Robert Peel." By EDWARD SWAINE.

On 15th January, 1844, price 5d., or by post, price 6d., No. 1 of
THE FREE CHURCH MAGAZINE.
To be continued Monthly.
Prospectuses will be issued shortly. Advertisements, and
Books for Review, will be received until the 5th of January.
Edinburgh: JOHN JOHNSTONE. London: R. GROOMBRIDGE.

TO MINISTERS AND TEACHERS.
SINGING for SCHOOLS and CONGREGA-
TIONS: a Course of Instruction in Vocal Music, edited by
JOHN CURWEN. In cloth, price 1s. 6d.
This is an exceedingly simple method, designed to make the
art of singing both cheap and popular. It is founded on the
method invented by Miss Glover of Norwich, which has been used
for many years, with unexampled success, in the Diocesan
Schools of that city.
The EXERCISES in "Singing for Schools and
Congregations." Price 4d.

T. WARD and Co., Paternoster row.
Just published, No. 1, price 6d., of
THE BAPTIST RECORD and BIBLICAL
REPOSITORY.

CONTENTS.
1. The Character and Aim of the Baptist Record.
2. Hours of Christian Meditation. On New Year's Day. From
the German of Dr Tholuck.
3. The Bible its own System.
4. Dr Prichard's Natural History of Man.
5. The Christian's Prayer. By the late Ebenezer Birrell.
6. Phillippo's Jamaica.
7. The late Rev. John Foster.
8. Godwin on the Oxford Doctrine of the Eucharist.
9. The Jerusalem Bishopric and Apostolic Succession.
10. Literary Notes and Intelligence.
11. The Home Record.
12. The Foreign Record.
Church and College Intelligence.
Glances at the Missionary Field, No. 1.
Intelligence from China, W. Africa, the Continent, &c.
G. and J. DYER, 24, Paternoster Row, to whom all communi-
cations for the editor are requested to be addressed.

"THE CHRISTIAN WITNESS."
JOHN SNOW begs to announce, that an
impression of FIFTEEN THOUSAND COPIES of the
"CHRISTIAN WITNESS" having been immediately ex-
hausted, he is unable to execute numerous large orders until a
further impression of TEN THOUSAND has been printed.
The Second Edition will be ready on Thursday.
35, Paternoster row, Jan. 1, 1844.

MUNDSELY COTTAGE, NORFOLK.
THIS ESTABLISHMENT for YOUNG
LADIES, conducted by Mrs NORMAN and Miss
BURCHEM, on very liberal terms, affords particular advantages
to Parents and Guardians desirous of placing their Children where
they may enjoy every domestic comfort compatible with school
discipline. The air is
pure, the water is soft, and the situation is healthy and agreeable.
The establishment is situated in a quiet and retired part of the
county, with which city there is daily communication.
Those Pupils who do not conform to the Church of England
will have the privilege of regularly attending the Dissenting
Chapel, under the care of Mrs Norman, who is a member of an
Independent church, and, from great experience, peculiarly
adapted to instruct the young in those things which concern
their spiritual welfare, and to which strict attention is given.
Terms for Boarders, including every branch of a sound English
Education, Twenty Guineas. No extra charges of any kind,
except for the accomplishments and washing.
The present vacation terminates 15th January, 1844. Refer-
ences are kindly permitted, to the Rev. John Jeffers, of
Prince's street chapel, Norwich, and to the Rev. Andrew Hall,
of the Old Meeting, Norwich.

BETTS'S PATENT BRANDY.
DISTILLERY, No. 7, SMITHFIELD BARRS.
NOTWITHSTANDING the publicity for many
years past given to the superiority of BETTS'S PATENT
FRENCH DISTILLED BRANDY over every other Spirit, British or
Foreign, it is yet but partially known; J. T. BETTS and Co. there-
fore, feel it a duty they owe to the Public and themselves, to invite
a comparison between the Patent and the French Brandy, until
every Family in the kingdom, in which Brandy is consumed,
have made trial of their Patent Brandy—and, consequently, dis-
continued the use of the Foreign Article. Their respective
merits are fairly developed in the following Testimonials, to
which they again beg to refer:
EXTRACTS FROM TESTIMONIALS.
"I do not hesitate to express my conviction that your Patent
Brandy is fully as free from every thing injurious to health, and
contains as pure a spirit, as the best varieties of Foreign Brandy."
EDWARD TURNER.
"Professor of Chemistry in the University of London."
"John T. Betts, Esq."
"I am bound to say, and do assert it with confidence, that,
for purity of spirit, this cannot be surpassed; and that your Pa-
tent Brandy is also quite free from those acids which, though
minute in quantity, always contaminate the Foreign Spirit."
JOSEPH HUME.
"J. T. Betts, Esq."
"Your Brandy is free from uncombined acid and astringent
matter, which exists, more or less, in most of the Brandy im-
ported from France."
JOHN THOMAS COOPER.
"To Mr Betts."
It is this perfect freedom from the above objectionable quali-
ties, and its agreeable and healthy nature, which has secured to
Cognac Brandy, the highest and most valuable of the Pa-
tent Brandy.
J. T. Betts and Co. are, at length enabled to give a distinct
assurance that arrangements will be completed in the course of
the present month, which will afford an unflinching protection to
purchasers against the continuance of those frauds, from which
they have hitherto so extensively suffered; as each bottle will
be secured by a PATENT METALLIC CAPSULE, or covering for the
cork, of solid metal, with their name, address, and the words
"BETTS'S PATENT BRANDY" embossed upon it; the forgery of
which subjects the guilty party to a Penalty of Fifty Pounds for
every offence.
This valuable Spirit is manufactured only at the Distillery,
No. 7, Smithfield Barrs, leading to St John Street; where it may
be obtained, either pale or coloured, in quantities not less than
Two Gallons, at Eighteen Shillings per Gallon, for Cash on
delivery.

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Advertisements.

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LECTURES ON ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS.
THE Rev. JOSEPH ANGUS, A.M., will deliver
the NEXT LECTURE at the BOROUGH ROAD
CHAPEL, SOUTHWARK, on TUESDAY EVENING, Jan.
9th.
Subject—"Establishments essentially persecuting in their
Spirit and Tendency."
To commence at half-past seven o'clock.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.
THE following MEETINGS and LECTURES
are intended to be held during the Month of JAN-
UARY.

FRIDAY, the 5th.—LECTURE at QUEEN STREET CHA-
PEL, RATCLIFFE, by Mr RIGAUD, agent of the Society.
TUESDAY, the 9th, MEETING at the REV. J. BURNET'S
CHAPEL, CAMBERWELL; J. S. ELLIOTT, Esq., in the chair.
WEDNESDAY, the 10th.—LECTURE, at the POULTRY
CHAPEL, by the Rev. C. STOVEL.
FRIDAY, the 12th.—LECTURE, at QUEEN STREET
CHAPEL, RATCLIFFE, by Mr RIGAUD.
TUESDAY, the 16th.—LECTURE, at the FRIENDS' MEET-
ING HOUSE, PECKHAM, by Rev. JOHN JEFFERSON.
WEDNESDAY, the 17th.—LECTURE at HOLYWELL
MOUNT CHAPEL, by the Rev. JOHN JEFFERSON.
FRIDAY, the 19th, LECTURE at JEWIN STREET CHA-
PEL, by Mr RIGAUD.
WEDNESDAY, the 24th.—LECTURE at ALDERMAN-
BURY POSTERN CHAPEL, by Rev. C. DUKES, M.A.
FRIDAY, the 26th.—LECTURE, at DR STEANE'S
CHAPEL, CAMBERWELL.
WEDNESDAY, the 31st.—LECTURE, at the FRIENDS'
MEETING HOUSE, HOUNSDITCH, by the Rev. J. BURNET.
TIME OF COMMENCEMENT—Seven o'clock in the Evening.

TO FARMERS.
NEW AGRICULTURAL PAPER.—On Satur-
day next, the 6th of January, will be published the First
Number of THE AGRICULTURAL GAZETTE. Price 6d.,
stamped, to go free by post. A Prospectus, with List of Con-
tributors, may be had on application, or by letter, at the Office, 3,
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for Promoting the Exercise and Manifestation of
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THE INFLUENCE of ARISTOCRACIES on
the Revolutions of Nations, considered in relation to the
Present Circumstances of the British Empire, by J. J. MAC-
TAVISH. This work has been critically noticed by the following:
—The Colonial Magazine, Metropolitan Magazine, Polytechnic
Journal, North of England Magazine, Argus, Patriot, Philan-
thropist, Nonconformist, Naval and Military Gazette, General
Advertiser, Liverpool Chronicle, Dublin World, and the Edin-
burgh Scotsman, all of which have spoken very favourably as to
the merits of the work.
FISHER, SON, and Co., Newgate street, London.

ern and midland districts comprised 450 Herefords, Devons, runts, Scots, &c. From other parts of England we received 350 of various breeds; from Ireland 30 beasts; and from Scotland 90 horned and polled Scots. Sheep came rather freely to hand and, for the most part, in excellent condition; but trade must be considered dull, though last week's quotations were well supported. The numbers of calves were about equal to meet the wants of the dealers, and nearly or quite the whole of them were disposed of at Friday's advanced rates. The pork trade was rather active. No importations of live stock have taken place.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).
Beef 3s. 2d. to 4s. 2d. | Veal 3s. 4d. to 4s. 6d.
Mutton 3 2 4 8 | Pork 3 2 4 6
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